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Pag: 61



A N
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
Constitution, Discipline,
Unity and Worship,
OF THE
Primitive Church,
That Flourish'd within the first
Three Hundred Years after
CHRIST.

Faithfully Collected out of the Ex-
tant Writings of those Ages.

By an Impartial Hand.
By Sir Peter (afterwards Lord) King.

L O N D O N,
Printed for J. Wyat at the Rose, and
R. Robinson at the Golden-Lyon, in
St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1713.

XX

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THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

THE Design of the following Treatise is in general to represent the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church, that flourish'd within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ; but more particularly and especially to describe their Opinions and Practices, with respect to those Things that are now unhappily controverted between those of these Kingdoms; who are commonly known by the Names of Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists; for which Reason it comes to pass, that to those Points, concerning which there is no Difference amongst us, I have not spoken so largely as otherwise I might have done; and some other Customs of theirs I have not mentioned at all, because now neglected and disused by us.

What I have written as to this Subject, I have wholly collected out of the Genuine and unquestionably Authentick Writings of those Ages, that are now extant, making use of no other Writings whatsoever, except the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, which was writ in the Beginning of the Fourth Age, and relates only those Affairs that were transacted in the Three former, beyond the Period of which Time this Enquiry doth not reach; but is wholly limited thereby, and confined thereunto. That which hath been thus collected, has been done, I hope, with the greatest Impartiality and Fidelity, without any Prepossession of Mind, or any fraudulent Dealing whatsoever, which the Reader may the sooner believe, and the easier be convinced of, since for the clearer Demonstration of my Faithfulness and Unprejudicedness herein, I have taken Care to print in the Margent the Original Words of all the Passages that I have cited, at least of all that are necessary, together with the very Pages whence I fetch'd them, that so the Reader turning to the Pages mention'd in those Editions that I use, (which Editions I shall set down at the End of this Preface) and finding it according to my Quotations, may the more readily be persuaded, that throughout this whole Tract I have been every way honest and unbiass'd.

And

And as I have faithfully and impartially collected these Observations, so I have as modestly and unconcernedly represented them, avoiding all Words or Speeches that might seem to carry the least Sharpness or Reflection in them, and have as nakedly expressed them, declining all affected or pompous Expressions, contenting my self with those Terms, that most naturally serve to render the Truth more perspicuous and evident, according to the Observation of Clemens Alexandrinus,

* He that would deliver the Truth, ought not studiously to affect an Elegancy of Expression, but only to use such Words, whereby he may render what he means intelligible.

* Δεῖ δὲ ἀληθείας κη-
δύμενον, ἐκ δεῦρος ἐπιβέβηκε
καὶ φρονησίδος τὰν φροσιν
συνδεῖναι. περὶ ἧς δὲ
ἰνομάζειν μόνον ὡς δύ-
ναται, ὁ βέλεθ. Stroma-
mat. lib. 2. p. 263.

Whether all, or some, or none of the following Primitive Customs may be changed by the Civil Magistrate, or by a Convocational Assembly, I pretend not here to handle; my Design at present, is only to search into Matter of Fact, to find out what were the Usages of the Ancient Church within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ; for, as was said before, no lower do I intend to go, which after the most impartial and serious Enquiry, I find to be according to the ensuing Treatise, in the Penning whereof I have avoided all

Prolixity and Tediouſneſs, and for that End omitting to answer ſeveral Objections, that I know may be made againſt ſeveral Things which I have here aſſerted, mine Intention being briefly and perſpicuouſly to prove what I judge to be the true Practice of the Primitive Church, as to thoſe Points now diſputed by us.

As for the Occaſion of my Publishing this Treatiſe, it cannot be imagin'd to proceed from a Spirit of Vanity or Ambition, ſince I ſo far conceal my Name, as that even my Bookseller knows not who I am; much leſs, I hope, will it be conſtrued by any, to proceed from a Spirit of Contention and Animosity, from an ill Deſign to foment and increaſe our preſent Feuds and Diviſions; ſince I aſſure the whole World, our unnatural Quarrels do ſo much afflict and trouble me, as that I would ſacrifice not only this Book, but alſo all that I either am or have, if thereby I might be an happy Inſtrument to compoſe and heal them. But amongſt other Reaſons, theſe Two were the chiefeſt that ſwayed me hereunto, To inform Others, and, To inform my Self: To inform others what the Practices of the Primitive Apoſtolick Churches were, if any ſhall be inquiſitive and deſirous to know them; or, If I am miſtaken, (as who is without his Errors?) to be better informed

informed my self, which, I must needs confess, was that which I chiefly designed in the Publication hereof; wherefore without any Ostentation or Challenging, but unfeignedly and sincerely to prevent Mistakes in my younger Years, I humbly desire, (if the Request be not too bold) and shall heartily thank any Learned Person, that will be so kind as to inform me, if he knows me to have erred in any one, or more Particulars, which he may do, either Publickly, or if he think fit, Privately, by Letter to my Bookseller, who will convey it safely to my Hands; and if any One that finds me deceived in any one, or more Points, will favour me so far, as to undertake such a Trouble, I should desire these few Things of him, That he would be pleased, as I have done, to use only those Writings that were composed within my prescribed Time, and if possible, the same Editions, and not only to form Objections against what I have written, but also to answer, or rather to give me another Sense of these Passages which I have cited, and then I promise, if my Mistakes are fairly shewn, I will not pertinaciously and obstinately defend them, but most willingly and thankfully renounce them, since my Design is not to defend a Party, but to search out the Truth.

I have but one Thing more to add in this Preface, and that is, That when I first resolv'd on the Printing of this Treatise, I design'd to have publish'd my Observations on the fourth general Head propounded in the Title Page to be enquired into, viz. The Worship of the Primitive Church, as well as now I have done those on the three former; but for some Reasons I have reserved this for a particular Tract by its self, which probably, though I do not absolutely promise it, may in a little Time more be also published; and that the rather, because in this Part I have made two or three References thereunto, which I thought good to acquaint the Reader with, that so if he cannot find some Things that I have referred to in this Treatise, he may be assured they are to be met with in the ensuing one.

The Primitive Authors mentioned in this Treatise, together with those Editions that I have made use of, are as follow.

S. Ignatii Epistolæ Græco-Latin. Quarto. Edit. Isaaci Vossii. Amstelodam. 1646.

S. Barnabæ Epistola Catholica, Edit. ad Calcem

S. Ignatii. Quarto. Amstelodam. 1646.

S. Clementis Romani Epistolæ Græco-Latin. Quarto. Edit. Patricii Junii. Oxonii, 1633.

S. Irenæi Opera, Folio. Edit. Nic. Galasii. Genevæ, 1580.

S. Justini Martyris Opera Græco-Latin. Folio. Colonæ, 1686.

Epistola Plinii Secundi Trajano Imperatori de Christianis, in fronte Operum Justin. Martyr. Colon. 1616.

Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Folio. Edit. Heinsii. Lugdun. Batav. 1616.

Tertulliani Opera, Folio. Edit. Paris. 1580.

Novatiani De Trinitate & De Cibis Judaicis inter Opera Tertulliani. Edit. Paris. 1580.

Cypriani Opera, Folio. Edit. Sim. Goulart. apud Johan. le Preux. 1593.

Vita Cyprian per Pontium ejus Diaconum. In fronte Oper. Cyprian. Edit. Goulart. 1593.

Fragmentum Victorini Petavionensis De Fabrica Mundi, pag. 103, 104. Histor. literar. Dr. S. Cave, Edit. Folio. Londini, 1688.

Minucii Felicis Octavius. Edit. ad Calcem Tertullian. Apolog: per Desiderium Heraldum. Quarto. Paris. 1613.

Origenis

Authors cited in this Treatise.

Origenis Commentaria omnia quæ Græcè reperiuntur, Edit. Huetii. 2 Vol. Folio. Rothomagi. 1668.

Origenis contra Celsum, Libri Octo, & ejusdem Philocalia. Græco-Latin. Edit. Quarto, per Guilielm. Spencer. Cantabrigiæ, 1677.

Origenis $\omega\iota$ $\delta\chi\tilde{\nu}\sigma$, seu, De Oratione, Græco-Latin. Octavo. Oxonii. 1685.

As for those other Works of *Origen* which are extant only in *Latin*; I have made no use at all of those of *Ruffin's* Translation, except his Creed, since in them we know not which we read, whether *Origen* or *Ruffin*; and as for those which were translated by more faithful Hands, I have used the Editions of *Merlin* or *Erasmus*, without nominating the Page.

Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiastica Historia Græco-Latin. Folio. Edit. Henric. Vales. Paris. 1659. I have read only the Seven first Books of *Eusebius's* History, because the Three others go beyond my limited Time.

As for the Writings of *S. Gregory of Neocæsarea*, they are but few, and from thence I have taken nothing but his Creed, so that there is no need to mention any Edition of his Works. The same I may say also of the short Epistle of *Polycarp*, which I have cited but once, and therein have used the Version of *Dr. Carve*, extant in his *Apostolici*, pag. 127.

There are yet some other Fathers whose remaining Tracts I have read, as *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Athenagoras*, &c. who are not cited in this Treatise, because I have found nothing in them pertinent to my Design.

An Enquiry into the Constitution,
Discipline, Unity, and Worship,
of the Primitive Church.

C H A P. I.

- §. 1. *The various Significations of the Word Church.*
 §. 2. *A particular Church the chief Subject of the ensuing Discourse: The constituent Parts thereof, Two-fold, viz. Clergy and Laity.* §. 3. *Each of these had their particular Functions, and both their joint Offices: Three Things on which a great Part of the following Discourse depends, proposed to be handled, viz. The peculiar Acts of the Clergy; The peculiar Acts of the Laity; and the Joint Acts of them both.* §. 4. *The peculiar Acts of the Clergy propounded to be discussed according to their several Orders: First, Of the Bishops: A View of the World as it was in a State of Heathenism, at the first Preaching of Christianity, necessary to be consider'd: Where the Apostles planted Churches, they appointed the first Converts to be Bishops thereof.* §. 5. *But one Bishop in a Church: The Orthodoxy of the Faith proved from the Succession of the Bishops: The Titles and Relation of the Bishop to his Flock.*

§. 1. **T**HAT we may give the more clear and distinct Answer to this important

cane

2 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

tant Query, it is necessary, that we first examin the Primitive Notion of the Word *Church*, upon the due Apprehension of which depends the right Understanding of a great Part of our following Discourse.

This Word *Church*, as in our modern Acceptation, so also in the Writings of the Fathers, is equivocal, having different Significations according to the different Subjects to which it is applied. I shall not here concern my self about the Derivation of the Word, or its Original Use amongst the Heathens, from whom it was translated into the Christian Church; but only take notice of its various Uses amongst the ancient Christians, which were many; as,

I. It is very often to be understood of the *Church Universal*, that is, of all those, who throughout the Face of the whole Earth professed Faith in Christ, and acknowledged him to

be the Saviour of Mankind. This *Irenæus* calls,

^a Ἡ ἐκκλησία κατ' ἕλης
καὶ διακρίτης ἕως πρὸς τῶν
καὶ γῆς διασπαρμένη. *Lib. 1.*
ca. 2. p. 34.

^a *The Church dispersed thro' the whole World to the Ends of the Earth, and*

^b Ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ
κόσμῳ διασπαρμένη. *Lib. 1.*
cap. 3. p. 36.

^b *The Church scattered in the whole World. And*

^c Ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ ἑλενοῦ ἐκ-
κλησία καὶ Θεῶν. *Apud Eu-
seb. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 226.*

^c *The*

*Church of God under Hea-
ven. This is that which*

*they called the Catholick Church, for Catholick signifies the same as Uni-
versal. Thus Polycarp, when he was seized by his*

^d Πάντος καὶ κατὰ
καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Apud
Euf. l. 4. c. 15. p. 131.*

they called the Catholick

*Church, for Catholick signifies the same as Uni-
versal. Thus Polycarp, when he was seized by his*

Murderers, prayed for

^d *The Catholick Church throughout the World. And*

in

in this Sense *Dionysius Alexandrinus* calls the persecuting Emperour *Macrianus*, ^a *A Warrior against the Catholick Church of God.*

^a Τῆς καθολικῆς Θεῆ ἐκκλησίας πολέμιος. *Epist. ad Herm. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 10. p. 256.*

II. The Word *Church* is frequently to be understood of a *particular Church*, that is, of a Company of Believers, who at one Time, in one and the same Place, did associate themselves together, and concur in the Participation of all the Institutions and Ordinances of Jesus Christ with their proper Pastors and Ministers. Thus

Irenæus mentions that

Church ^b *which is in any Place.* And so *Dionysius Alexandrinus* writes, that

^b Ea quæ est in quoque loco Ecclesia. *Lib. 2. c. 56. p. 158.*

when he was banished to *Cephro* in *Lybia*, ^c there came so many Christians unto him, that even there he had a *Church.*

^c Πόλλη συνεπεδήμησεν ἡμῖν ἐκκλησία. *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11. p. 259.*

Tertullian thinks, that ^d *Three were sufficient to make a Church.* In this

^d Ubi tres, Ecclesia est. *Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.*

Sense we must understand, ^e *the Church of*

^e Ecclesia Romana, *Cyprian. Epist. 31. S. 3. p. 70.*

Rome, ^f *the Church of*

^f Ἐκκλησία τῆ ἔση ἐν Σμύρνη. *Ignat. ad Smyrn. p. 1.*

Smyrna, ^g *the Church of*

^g Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. *Idem. Ibid. p. 8.*

Antioch, ^h *the Church of*

^h Ἐκκλησία ἡ Ἀθωνοσι, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. *Origen cent. Celsum, l. 3. c. 129.*

Athens, *the Church of*

Alexandria, or the *Church* in any other such Place whatsoever, that is, a

Congregation of Christians assembling all together for Religious Exercises at *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Smyrna*, *Athens*, *Alexandria*, or such like Places.

III. The

4 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

III. The Word *Church* is sometimes used for the Place, where a particular Church or Congregation met for the Celebration of Divine Service. Thus *Paulus Samosatenus*, the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, ordered certain Women

^a Ἐν μέσῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
Epist. Synod. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 281.

to stand ^a *in the Middle of the Church*, and sing Psalms in his Praise. So

Clemens Alexandrinus adviseth, that Men and Women should with all Modesty and Humility enter ^b *into the Church*. So the Clergy of the

Church of *Rome* in their Letter to *Cyprian*, concerning the Restitution of the Lapsed, give as

^c Adeant ad limen Ecclesie. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3¹. §. 7. p. 71.*

their Advice, ^c *That they should only come to the Threshold of the Church-door, but not go over it.*

And in this Sense is the Word frequently to be

^d *De præscript. advers. Heret. p. 90. De Corona Militis, p. 336.* And very often in his Book, *De Virginitibus velandis.*

understood in ^d *Tertulian*, ^e *Origen* and others, to recite whose Testimonies at large would be both tedious and needless.

^e *De Orat. §. 20. p. 132.*

IV. I find the word *Church* once used by *Cyprian* for a Collection of many particular Churches, who mentions in the singular Num-

^f *In Provinciâ Africâ & Numidiâ Ecclesiam Domini, Epist. 71. §. 4. p. 214.*

ber, ^f *the Church of God in Africa and Numidia.*

Else I do not remember, that ever I met with it in this Sense, in any Writings either of this, or the

the rest of the Fathers; but whenever they would speak of the Christians in any Kingdom or Province they always said in the Plural, *The Churches*; never in the Singular, *the Church* of such a Kingdom or Province. Thus *Dionysius Alexandrinus* doth not say *the Church*,^a but *the Churches of Cilicia*. And so *Irenæus* mentions,^b *The Churches that were in Germany, Spain, France, the East, Egypt and Lybia*. So also *Tertullian* speaks of the *Churches of Asia and Phrygia*, and^c *the Churches of Greece*. and so of every Country they always express the Churches thereof in the Plural Number.

V. The Word *Church* frequently occurs for that, which we commonly call the Invisible Church, that is, for those, who by a sound Repentance and a lively Faith, are actually interested in the Lord Jesus Christ: According to this Signification of the Word must we understand *Tertullian*, when he says, *That Christ had*^e *espoused the Church*, and, that^f *there was a Spiritual Marriage between Christ and the Church*. And that of *Irenæus*,^g *That the Church was fitted according to the Form*

^a Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κιλικίας ἐκκλησία. Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 5. p. 251.

^b Ἡ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἐκκλησία, ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, ἐν Κελτοῖς, καὶ τὰς Ἀνατολάς, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐν Λιβύῃ. Lib. 1. c. 3. p. 36.

^c Ecclesiæ Asiæ & Phrygiæ. Adversus Praxeam, p. 314.

^d Per Græciam Ecclesiæ. De Virgin. veland. p. 386.

^e Christus sibi sponsabat Ecclesiam. Advers. Marcion. Lib. 4. p. 195.

^f Spirituales nuptias Ecclesiæ & Christi. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 455.

^g Ecclesia ad figuram imaginis filii ejus coaptatur. Lib. 4. c. 72. p. 308.

6 The Constitution, Discipline. &c.

of the Son of God. And in this Sense is the Word oftentimes used in others of the Fathers, as I might easily shew, if any One did doubt it.

VI. The Word *Church* is frequently to be interpreted of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church. In this Sense *Irenæus* prays, That

^a *Conversos ad ecclesiam Dei. Lib. 3. c. 46. p. 229.* the ^a *Hereticks might be reclaimed from their Heresies, and be converted to*

the Church of God; and exhorts all sincere Christians not to follow Hereticks, but to

^b *Confugere ad Ecclesiam. Lib. 5. c. 17. p. 342.* ^b *fly to the Church: Upon which Account Hereticks are said to have left*

the Church, as *Tertullian* told *Marcion*, that

^c *Ab Ecclesiâ Christi recessisti. De carne Christi, p. 13.* when he became an Heretick, ^c *he departed from the Church of Christ:*

And their Heresies are said to be dissonant from the Church, as *Ori-*

^d *Ἀλλότριον τῆ ἐκκλησίας. Comment. in Mat. Tom. 13. p. 304. Vol. 1.* *gen* writes, that the Opinion of the Transmigration of Souls was ^d *alien from the Church.*

There are yet several other Significations of this Word, though not so usual as some of the forementioned ones, nor so pertinent to my Design, so that I might justly pass them over without so much as mentioning them: But lest any should be desirous to know them, I will just name them, and then proceed to what is more material.

Besides then those former Significations, the Word according to its Original Import is also used for any Congregation in general; some-
times

times it is applied to any particular Sect of Hereticks, as *Tertullian* calls the *Marcionites* ^a the Church of Marcion: At other times it is attributed to the Orthodox in opposition to the Hereticks, as by the same ^b *Tertullian*: Sometimes it is appropriated to the Heathen Assemblies, as by ^c *Origen*; at other times in Opposition to the *Jews* it is ascribed to the believing *Gentiles*, as by ^d *Irenæus*: In some Places it is taken for the Deputies of a particular Church, as in ^e *Ignatius*. In other Places it signifies the Assembly of the Spirits of just Men made perfect in Heaven, which we commonly call the Church Triumphant, as in ^f *Clemens Alexandrinus*. Once I find it denoting the ^g Laity only, in opposition to the Clergy: And once signifying only ^h Christ as the Head of the Faithful.

^a Ecclesiam suam. *Adversus Marcion. lib. 5. p. 255.*

^b Hereses Ecclesiam la-
cessentes. *De prescript. advers. Hæret. p. 69.*

^c Ἐκκλησίας δεσπο-
μῶν, καὶ ἀπολάσεων, καὶ
ἀδικιών. *Contra Cels. lib. 3. p. 128.*

^d Ea quæ ex gentibus est
Ecclesia. *Lib. 4. cap. 37. p. 271.*

^e Ἀσπάρομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ
Σμύρνης ἀμαρτῶν συμπα-
ρέσταις μετ' ἐκκλησίας τῷ
Θεῷ. *Ad Philadelph. p. 52.*

^f Ὁμογενιον ἐκκλησίαν.
Pedag. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 104.

^g Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Πρεσβύ-
τεροι, καὶ Διάκονοι, καὶ αἱ
ἐκκλησίαι τῷ Θεῷ. *Apud. Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 279.*

^h Ecclesia vero Christus.
Tertullian. de penitentia, p. 382.

§. 2. But the usual and common Acceptation of the Word, and of which we must chiefly treat, is that of a particular Church, that is, a Society of Christians, meeting together in one Place under their proper Pastors, for the Per-

8 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

formance of Religious Worship, and the exercising of Christian Discipline.

Now the first Thing that naturally presents its self to our Consideration, is to enquire into the constituent Parts of a Particular Church, or who made up and compos'd such a Church.

^a *Epist. Eccles. Smyrn. ad Eccles. Philomil. apud Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 134.*

^b *Κλητοῖς ἢ ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι Θεῶ. Clem. Roman. Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 1.*

In the general, they were

call'd Ἐκλεκτοὶ, the ^a *Elect*,

^b *the Called and Sanctified by the Will of God,* And

in innumerable Places

they are call'd Ἀδελφοὶ,

the Brethren, because of

their Brotherly Love and Affection; and Πιστοὶ, *the Faithful,* in opposition to the Pagan World, who had no Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, nor in the Promises of the Gospel. But more particularly we may divide them into two Parts; into the People that compos'd the Body of the Church, and those Persons who were set a-part for Religious and Ecclesiastical Employments: Or to conform to our ordinary Dialect, into the Clergy and Laity, which is an early Distinction,

being mention'd by

^c *Τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιον ὁ τόπος περὶέτακται, ὁ λαϊκὸς ἀνθρώπων. τοῖς λαϊκοῖς περὶ ἀγμάσιν δέ- δέ. Epist. 1. ad Cor. p. 53.*

^d *Clemens Romanus, and after him by ^e Origen, and several others.*

^d *Homil. 11. in Jerem. p. 113, 114. Vol. 1.*

§. 5. Each of these had their particular Offices, and both together had their joynt Employments, to all which I shall distinctly speak in the ensuing Tract, as they naturally resolve themselves into these Three Particulars :

I. The

- I. The peculiar Acts of the Clergy.
- II. The peculiar Acts of the Laity.
- III. The joint Acts of them both.

By the Resolution of which Three Questions, some Discovery will be made of the Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church, and of their Practice with respect to many Points unhappily controverted amongst us.

§. 4. I begin with the first of these; What were the peculiar Acts of the Clergy? Now here must be consider'd the Functions of every particular Order and Degree of the Clergy, which we may say to be Three; *viz.* Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, whose Employments we shall severally handle; as also several other Points, which under those Heads shall offer themselves unto us. I shall begin first with the Bishop; but for the better Understanding both of him and the rest, it will be necessary, first of all, to consider the Condition of the whole World, as it was before the Preaching of the Gospel in a State of Paganism and Darknes, having their Understandings clouded with Ignorance and Error, alienated from God, and the true Worship of him, applauding their own brutish Inventions, and adoring as God whatever their corrupted Reason and silly Fancies proposed to them as Objects of Adoration and Homage. Into this miserable State all Mankind, except the *Jews*, had wilfully cast themselves; and had not Christ the Son of Righteousness enlightned them, they would have continued in that lost and blind Condition to this very Day:

But our Saviour having on his Cross triumph'd over Principalities and Powers, and perfectly conquered the Devil, who before had rul'd effectually in the Heathen World; and being ascended into Heaven, and sat down at the Right Hand of the Father, on the Day of Pentecost he sent down the Holy Ghost on his Apostles and Disciples, who were then assembled at *Jerusalem*, enduing them thereby with the Gift of Tongues, and working Miracles, and both commissionating and fitting them for the Propagation of his Church and Kingdom, who having received this Power and Authority from on high, went forth preaching the Gospel, First, to the *Jews*, and then to the *Gentiles*, declaring those glad Tidings to all Kingdoms and Provinces; so that as the Apostle *Paul* said, *Rom. 10. 18.* *Their Sound went into all the Earth, and their Words unto the Ends of the World*; every one taking a particular Part of the World for his proper Province, to make known the joyful News of Life and Salvation through Christ therein. Thus *St. Andrew* principally preach'd the Gospel in *Scythia*, *St. Bartholomew* in *India*, *St. Matthew* in *Parthia*, *St. John* in the *Lesser Asia*, and all the rest of the Apostles had their particular Provinces allotted them, wherein they went forth preaching the Gospel; and as they came to any City, Town or Village, they published to the Inhabitants thereof the blessed News of Life and Immortality through *Jesus Christ*, constituting the first Converts of every Place through which they passed, Bishops and Deacons of those Churches which they there

gathered. So saith *Clemens Romanus*,^a *The Apostles went forth preaching in City and Country, ap-*

pointing the First Fruits of their Ministry for Bishops and Deacons, generally leaving those Bishops and Deacons to govern and enlarge those particular Churches, over which they had placed them, whilst they themselves passed for-

wards, planted other Churches, and placed Governors over them. Thus saith Tertullian, b Clemens was ordained Bishop of Rome by St. Peter, and Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna by St. John.

^a Καθίσταρον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους. *Epist. I. ad Corinth* p. 54.

^b Smirnæorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum, Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum. *De præscript. advers. Hær.* p. 80.

§. 5. Whether in the Apostolick and Primitive Days, there were more Bishops than one in a Church, at first sight seems difficult to resolve; That the Holy Scriptures and ^c *Clemens Romanus* mention many in one Church, is certain:

^c Ὑποτάσσονται τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν. *Epist. I. ad Cor.* p. 2.

And on the other Hand it is as certain, that *Ignatius, Tertullian, Cyprian*, and the following Fathers affirm, That there was and ought to be but one in a Church. These Contradictions may at the first View seem inextricable; but I hope the following Account will reconcile all these seeming Difficulties, and withal afford us a fair and easie Conception of the Difference between the ancient Bishops and Presbyters.

I shall then lay down as sure, that there was but one Supreme Bishop in a Place, that was the ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, The Bishop, by way of Emi-

nency and Propriety. The proper Pastor and Minister of his Parish, to whose Care and Trust the Souls of that Church or Parish, over which he presided, were principally and more immediately committed. So

^a Unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos. *Epist.* 55. §. 6. p. 138.

faith Cyprian, ^a *There is but one Bishop in a Church at a Time.* And so Cor-

nelius Objects to Novatian, *That he did not re-*

^b Οὐκ ἠπίστατο ἓνα ἐπισκοποῦν δὲν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. *Ad Fabianum. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 244.*

remember, ^b *that there ought to be but one Bishop in a Church.* And throughout the whole Epistles of Ignatius, and the Generali-

ty of Writers succeeding him, we find but one single Bishop in a Church, whose Quotations to which Purpose would be fruitless to recite here, since the constant Practice of the Universal Church confirms it, and a great Part of the following Discourse will clearly illustrate it.

Only it may not be impertinent to Remark this by the Way, that by the Διαδοχαί, or Succession of Bishops, from those Bishops who were ordained by the Apostles, the Orthodox were wont to prove the Succession of their Faith, and the Novelty of that of the Here-

^c Edant origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis per-

ticks, ^c *Let them demonstrate the Original of their Churches, as Tertullian challenges the Marcionites, and other Hereticks; Let them turn over the Orders of their Bishops, and see whether they have had*

had a Succession of Bishops from any one who was constituted by the Apostles or Apostolick Men: Thus the truly Apostolick Churches have, as the Church of Smyrna has Polycarp there placed by St. John, and the Church of Rome Clement ordain'd by Peter; and other Churches can tell, who were ordained Bishops over them by the Apostles, and who have been their Successors to this very Day. So also says Irenæus, ° We challenge the Hereticks to that Tradition, which was handed down from the Apostles by the Succession of Bishops.

And in the ^p next Chapter of the same Book, the said Father gives us a Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome till his Days, by whom the true Faith was successively transmitted down from the Apostles; in which Catalogue we find but one Bishop at a time, and as he died, so another single Person succeeded him in the Charge of that Flock or Parish.

So that this Consideration evidences also, that there was but one Bishop strictly so call'd, in a Church at a time, who was related to his Flock, ^q as a Pastor to his Sheep, and a Parent to his Chil-

severaverit, habuerit autorem & antecessorem. Hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum proinde utique exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. De præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 78.

° Eam traditionem quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per Successionis Presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 170.

^p Lib. 3. c. 3. p. 170, 171.

^q A pastore oves, & filios à parente separare. Cypr. Epist. 38. §. 1. p. 90.

dren. The Titles of this supreme Church-Officer are most of them reckoned up in one Place by

^a Episcopus, Præpositus. Pastor, Gubernator, Antistes, Sacerdos. *Epist.* 69. §. 5. p. 208.

^b Περεσῶτας τινὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀγγέλους λέγουσιν ὡσαύτῃ πρὸς Ἰωάννη ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει. *De Orat.* §. 35. P. 34.

Cyprian, which are ^a Bishop, Pastour, President, Governour, Superintendent and Priest. And this is he, which in the Revelations is call'd ^b the Angel of his Church, as Origen thinks, which Appellations denote both his Authority and Office, his

Power and Duty, of both which we shall somewhat treat, after we have discoursed of the Circuit and Extent of his Jurisdiction and Superintendency, which shall be the Contents of the following Chapter.

C H A P. II.

§. 1. *As but one Bishop to a Church, so but one Church to a Bishop. The Bishop's Cure never call'd a Diocese, but usually a Parish, no larger than our Parishes.* §. 2. *Demonstrated by several Arguments.* §. 3. *A Survey of the Extent of several Bishopricks, as they were in Ignatius's Days, as of Smyrna. §. 4. Ephesus. §. 5. Magnesia. §. 6. Philadelphia. And §. 7. Trallium. §. 8. The Bigness of the Diocese of Antioch. §. 9. Of Rome. §. 10. Of Carthage. §. 11. A Reflection on the Diocese of Alexandria. §. 12. Bishops in Villages §. 13. All the Christians of a Diocese met together in one Place every Sunday to serve G O D.*

§. 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter shewn that there was but one Bishop to a Church,

Church, we shall in this evidence, that there was but one Church to a Bishop, which will appear from this single Consideration, *viz.* That the ancient Diocesses are never said to contain Churches in the Plural, but only a Church, in the Singular. So they say, ^a *the Church of the Corinthians*, ^b *the Church of Smyrna*, ^c *the Church in Magnesia*, ^d *the Church in Philadelphia*, ^e *the Church in Antioch*, and so of any other Place whatsoever, the Church of, or in such a Place.

This was the common name whereby a Bishop's Cure was denominated, the Bishop himself being usually called, The Bishop of this or that Church, as *Tertullian* saith, ^f *That Polycarp was ordained Bishop of the Church of Smyrna.*

As for the Word *Diocese*, by which the Bishop's Flock is now usually express'd, I do not remember that ever I found it used in this Sense by any of the Ancients: But there is another Word still retained by us, by which they frequently denominated the Bishop's Cure, and that is *Parish*: So in the Synodical Epistle of *Irenæus* to Pope *Victor*, the Bishopricks of *Asia* are twice called ^g *Parishes*. And in *Eusebius's* Ecclesiastical History the Word is so applied in several hundred Places. It

^a Τὴν Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν. Clem. Rom. Epist. 1. p. 62.

^b Smirnis Ecclesia. Irenæus lib. 3. c. 3. p. 171.

^c Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶ ἐσσαν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ. Ignat. Epist. 4. p. 30.

^d Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐστὶ ἐν Φιλαδέλφειᾳ. Idem. Epist. 5. p. 38.

^e Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ. Idem ibidem, p. 45.

^f Polycarpus in Smirnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus. Iren. l. 3. c. 3. p. 171.

^g Τῶν παρεκκλησιῶν. Apud Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 193.

16 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

^b Τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ
παροικίας, lib. 2. c. 24. p. 66.

ⁱ Τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας, lib. 3. c. 4. p. 73.

^k Τῆς Κορινθίων παροικίας,
lib. 3. c. 4. p. 74.

^l Τῆς Ἀθηνῶν παροικίας, lib. 4. c. 23. p. 144.

^m Τῆς κατὰ Καρχηδόνα παροικίας, lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 251.

is usual there to read of the Bishops of the ^h Parish of Alexandria, of the ⁱ Parish of Ephesus, of the ^k Parish of Corinth, of the Parish of ^l Athens, of the ^m Parish of Carthage; and so of the Bishops of the Parishes of several other Churches;

by that Term denoting the very same, that we now call a Parish, viz. a competent Number of Christians dwelling near together, having one Bishop, Pastor or Minister set over them, with whom they all met at one time to worship and serve God. This may be evinc'd from the Intent of the Word it self, which signifies a Dwelling one by another, as Neighbours do; or an Habitation in one and the same Place, as

ⁿ Apud Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 229.

the Church of Smyrna writ to the Church ⁿ that Parish'd in Philomelium,

τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ. And the Epistle of Clemens Romanus is to the Church of GOD

^o Parish'ing at Corinth, παροικίᾳ Κορινθῶν, that is,

dwelling or living in *Philomelium* and *Corinth*: so that a Parish is the same with a particular Church, or a single Congregation; which is yet more evident from a Passage in the Dissertations of *Apollonius* against *Alexander* a *Cataphrygian* Heretick, wherein it

^p Ἡ ἰδίᾳ παροικία αὐτὸν ὁθεὺν βεβήκει ἐδέξατο. Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18. p. 185.

is said, That because that Heretick had been a Robber, therefore ^p that Pa-

rish

ish to which he belonged would not receive him, that is, that particular Church or Congregation to which he appertained, excluded him from Communion because of his Depredations and Robberies; so that a Parish and a particular Church are synonymous Terms, signifying one and the same Thing; and consequently a Bishop having but one Parish under his Jurisdiction, could extend his Government no farther than one single Congregation; because a single Congregation and a Parish were all one, of the same Bulk and Magnitude.

§. 2. But that the Bishop's Diocese exceeded not the Bounds of a modern Parish, and was the same, as in Name, so also in Thing, will appear from these following Observations, as,

1. All the People of a Diocese did every Sunday meet all together in one Place to celebrate Divine Service.

Thus saith *Justin Martyr*,
^a On Sunday all Assemble together in one Place, where the Bishop preaches and prays; for as *Ignatius* writes; ^b Where the Bishop is, there the People must be; and ^c there is a Necessity that we do nothing without the Bishop; since ^d it is unlawful to do any Thing without him; for ^e where the Pastor is, there the Sheep ought to

^a Πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνα-
 ἑλθούσις γίνεσθαι. *Apol.* 1.
 p. 98.

^b Ὅπου ἂν φανῆ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος
 ὡς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἕστω.
Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.

^c Ἀναγκαῖον ἔστιν ἀνεῖναι
 ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν περῆσαι
 ὑμᾶς. *Ep. ad Tralles.* p. 48.

^d Οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντως χωρεῖν
 ἐπισκόπου, ἕτε βασιλίσσειν,
 ἕτε ἀγαπῶν ποιεῖν. *Epist.*
ad Smyrn. p. 6.

^e Ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ὄντων,
 ἐκεῖ ὡς περὶβάλλει ἀποκλι-
 θεῖτε. *Epist. ad Phila-*
delph. p. 42.

follow;

18 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

^a Ἄνδ. ᾧ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μὴ δὲν πρὸς ὁμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἰς νῆς, μία ἔλπις. *Epist. ad Magnes. p. 33.*

that you may have one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind, and one Hope;

^b Ἐἰ γὰρ ἐν ᾧ καὶ δύο ἢ περισσότερα προσευχὴ τοσαύτῳ ἰσχύον ἔχει, πῶσω μάλλον ἢ τε ᾧ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας; ὁ ἔν μὴ ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἔτι ἢ δὴ ὑπερηφανεῖ καὶ ἑαυτὸν διεκείνεν γέγραπται γὰρ ὑπερηφανοῖς ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσει. Πικρὰ δὲ ἄλωμα ἐν μὴ ἀντιτάσσει τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ᾧ μὲν Θεὸς ὑποτασσέμενοι. *Ep. ad Ephes p. 20.*

follow; wherefore ^a as Christ did nothing without the Father, so do you nothing without the Bishop and Presbyters, but assemble into the same Place,

one Mind, and one Hope;

^b for if the Prayer of One or Two have so great a Force; how much more prevalent must that be, which is made by the Bishop and the whole Church? He then that doth not assemble together, is proud, and hath condemned himself: For it is written, God resisteth the Proud. Let us not therefore resist the Bishop,

that we may be subject to God. So that these Passages clearly prove, That all the Members of the Bishop's Church assembled together in one Place to send up their Common Prayers to the Throne of Grace, and to discharge those other Religious Duties which were incumbent on them, which convincingly evidences the Bishop's Church to be no bigger than our Parishes; for if it had been bigger, it would have been impossible that the Members thereof, should have constantly assembled together in one Place, as we see here they did.

2. The Bishop had but one Altar or Communion-Table in his whole Diocese, at which his whole Flock received the Sacrament from him.

him. ^a *There is but one Altar, says Ignatius, as there is but one Bishop.* At

^a Ἐν θυσιασθένειον ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον. *Epist. ad Philad. p. 41.*

At this Altar the Bishop administered the Sacrament to his whole Flock at

one Time. So writes Cyprian, ^b *We celebrate the Sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present.*

^b Sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebramus. *Epist. 63. §. 12. p. 177.*

And thus it was in Justin Martyr's Days, ^c *The*

^c τῆς ἡλικίας λεγομένη ἡμεῖς πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλθεσις γίνεσθαι, διάδοσις ἢ ἡ μεταλήψις ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστω γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπαῖξι διατὸ διακόνων πέμπεσθαι. *Apolog. 2. p. 98.*

Bishop's whole Diocese met together on Sunday, when the Bishop gave them the Eucharist; and if any were absent, he sent it to them by the Deacons. Cer-

tainly that Diocese could

not be large, where all usually communicated at one Time; and the Deacons carried about the consecrated Eucharist to those that were absent; which would have been an endless and painful Task for the Deacons, had their Bishoprick contained more Christians in it, than one Congregation would have held. *Tertullian*

writes, That in his Time and Country, ^d *the Christians received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the Hands of the Bishop alone.* Now in those

^d Nec de aliorum manu quam de præsidentium fumimus. *De corona militis, p. 338.*

Days and Places they communicated at least

^e three times a Week,

^e *Vid. de Oratione, p. 661.*

viz. Wednesdays, Fridays, and Lord's Days, which had been impossible to have been done,

if

if the Bishop had had Inspection over more than one Congregation, as is obvious to every one's Reason; for the Bishop being finite and corporeal as well as others, could not be present in many Places at once, but must be confined to one determinate fixed Place, in which alone he could administer and dispense the Eucharist: And for this Reason it is, that *Ignatius*

^h *Μία Ἀχαιεῖς ἰὰ χεῖν θα.*
Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.

exhorts the *Philadelphians* to ^h use the one Eucharist, that is, not to

leave the Bishop, and communicate elsewhere, but to partake of that single Eucharist which was administered by him: For as he proceeds

ⁱ *Μία γὰρ σὰρξ ἡμεῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον, ἐν ἑσσηνείῳ, ὡς εἰς ἑπίσκοπον.* *Ibid.*

ⁱ *There is but one Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, one Cup, one Altar, and one Bishop.* As there was but

one Bishop in a Church, so there was but one Altar, a Bishop and an Altar being correlates: So that to set up another Altar, was a Periphrasis of a Schismatick, or of one that causelessly separated from his lawful Bishop, and set up another, which was that they called *Schism*, as we shall shew in its proper Place. Thus

^k *Contemptis episcopis, & Dei Sacerdotibus derelictis constituere audet aliud altare.* *De Unitat. Ecclesiae, §. 15. p. 301.*

Cyprian describes a Schismatick as one, ^k that contemns his Bishop, leaves the Ministers of God, and dares to set up another Altar: And particularly

^l *Profanum altare erigere.* *Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

he brands *Novatian* as such an one, because ^l he erected a prophane Altar, that

that is, an Altar in opposition to the Altar of *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop: For, as he saith in another Place, ^a *No Man can regularly constitute a new Bishop, or erect a new Altar, besides the one Bishop, and the one Altar: For which Reason*

^a Aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare, & unum sacerdotium, non potest. *Epist.* 40. §. 4. p. 93.

he calls the Altar that is erected by Schismatics, against the One Altar of their lawful Bishops, ^b *A profane Altar: Which agrees with*

^b Altare profanum. *Epist.* 65. §. 4. p. 193.

that of *Ignatius*, that ^c *He that is within the Altar is pure, but he that does any thing without the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, is impure; and as he says in another place, ^d Whosoever is without the Altar, wants the Bread of God.*

^c ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιασθείου ὄντος, καθαρὸς ὄντων τῶν ὄντων, ὁ ἕξωθεν ἑπισημασθεῖς καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων προσέσεων τι ἔστω ἢ καθαρὸς ὄντων τῆ συνειδήσει. *Epi. ad Tralles.* p. 50.

^d Ἐὰν μὴ τις ἢ ἐντὸς τῆ θυσιασθείου, ὑπερείται τῆ ἀρετῆ τῆ Θεοῦ. *Epist. ad Ephes.* p. 20.

3. The other Sacrament of Baptism was generally administered by the Bishops alone within their Respective Diocesses. So saith *Tertullian*,

Before the Bishop we renounce the Devil and the World. For, as Cyprian says, ^e The Bishops ought only to baptize: And to the same effect writes Fortunatus Bishop of Thucabori, that our Lord Jesus Christ ^g gave unto

^e Sub Antistite contestamur nos renunciare diabolo & pompæ. *De Coron. Milit.* p. 336.

^f Non nisi Ecclesiæ præpositis licere baptizare. *Epist.* 73. §. 6. p. 220.

^g Potestatem baptizandi Episcopis dedit. *Act. Concil. Carth. apud Cyprian.* p. 445.

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the Bishops the Power of Baptizing. So that the Bishops did ordinarily baptize all the Persons that were baptized in their Diocesses; and if so, 'tis not probable, I may say possible, that their Diocesses were extended beyond the bulk of single Congregations.

4. The Churches Charity was deposited with the Bishop, who, as *Justin Martyr* reports,

^a Ἀυτὸς ἐπιμερεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τὲ καὶ χήραις καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλω αἰτίαν λεπτομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔσι, καὶ τοῖς παρ-επιδήμοις ἔσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς, τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ ἔσι κηδεμῶν γίνεσθαι. *Apolog.*

2. P. 99.

^a was the common Curator and Over-seer of all the Orphans, Widows, Diseased, Strangers, Imprisoned, and, in a Word, of all those that were needy and indigent. To this

charitable Office *Ignatius* adviseth ^b *Polycarpus*;

^b *Epist. ad Polycarp.* p. 12.

but of that Advice more shall be spoken in another

Place; only let us observe, That that Diocese could not be very large, where the Bishop Personally relieved and succoured all the Poor and Indigent therein.

5. All the People of a Diocese were present at Church Censures, as *Origen* describes an

^c Ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Comment. in Matth.* Tom. 13. p. 335. Vol. 1.

Offender, as appearing ^c before the whole Church.

So *Clemens Romanus* calls the Censures of the

^d τὰ προσασώματα ὑπὸ τῆς πλήθους. *Epist. 1. ad Cor.* p. 69.

Church, ^d the Things commanded by the Multitude.

And so the two offending Subdeacons and Acolyth

^e Plebe universâ. *Cyprian. Epist. 28. §. 2.* p. 64.

at *Carthage* were to be try'd ^e before the whole

People.

6. No

6. No Offenders were restored again to the Churches Peace, without the Knowledge and Consent of the whole Diocese: So *Cyprian* writes, That before they were re-admitted to Communion, *they were to*
^a *plead their Cause before all the People.* And it was ordained by an *African* Synod, that except in Danger of Death, or an instantaneous Persecution, none should be received into the Churches Peace,^b *without the Knowledge and Consent of the People.*

^a Acturi causam apud plebem universam. *Epist.* 10. §. 4. p. 30.

^b Sine petitu & conscientia plebis. *Apud Cyprian.* *Epist.* 59. §. 1. p. 164.

7. When the Bishop of a Church was dead, all the Peop'e of that Church met together in one Place to chuse a new Bishop. So *Sabinus* was elected Bishop of *Emerita*,^c *by the Suffrage of all the Brotherhood*; which was also the Custom throughout all *Africa*,^d *for the Bishop to be chosen in the Presence of the People.* And so *Fabianus* was chosen to be Bishop of *Rome*,^e *by all the Brethren who were met together in one Place for that very End.*

^c De universæ fraternitatis suffragio. *Apud Cypr.* *Epist.* 63. §. 6. p. 202.

^d Apud nos quoque & ferè per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique convenient, & episcopus deligatur plebe præsentè. *Ibid.*

^e Τῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χειροτονίας ἐνεκεν ἐπὶ τῆ ἐκκλησίας συσκευασθῆ-

μαίων. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.*

8. At the Ordinations of the Clergy the whole Body of the People were present. So

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an *African Synod* held Anno 258, determined,

^a Ordinationes Sacerdotes non nisi sub populi assistentis Conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, & sit Ordinatio justa & legitima, quæ omnium Suffragio & Judicio fuerit examinata. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 4. p. 2. 1.*

^a That the Ordination of Ministers ought to be done with the Knowledge, and in the Presence of the People; that the People being present, either the Crimes of the Wicked may be detected, or the Merits of the Good declared; and so the Ordination may be Just and Lawful; being approved by the Suffrage

and Judgment of all. And Bishop Cyprian writes from his Exile to all the People of his Diocess,

^b In Ordinationibus Clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & mores, ac merita singulorum communi concilio ponderare. *Ad Plebem Universam Epist. 33. p. 76.*

That ^b it had been his constant Practice in all Ordinations, to consult their Opinions, and by their common Counsels to weigh the Manners and Merit of every One: Therein imitating the Example of the Apostles and apostolick Men, who ordained none, but with ^c the Approbation of the whole Church.

9. Publick Letters from one Church to another were read before the whole Diocess. Thus Cornelius Bishop of Rome, whatever Letters he

^d Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ Plebi legere. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 21. p. 154.*

received from Foreign Churches, ^d he always read them to his most holy and numerous People.

And

And without doubt when Firmilian writ ^a to all the Parish of Antioch, they could all assemble together to read his Letter, and return an Answer to it; since we find that in those days one whole Church writ to another whole Church, as ^b the Church of Rome writ to the Church of Corinth. And Cyprian, ^c and his whole Flock, sent gratulatory Letters to Pope Lucius upon his return from Exile.

^a Τῇ παρόρμῳ πάση. Epist. Synod. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 279.

^b Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Θεῆς πατρικῆσα Ῥώμην, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς Θεῆς πατρικῆσα Κόρινθον. Clem. Rom. Epist. 1. p. 1.

^c Fraternitas omnis. Cyprian. Epist. 58. §. 20 p. 163.

Lastly, The whole Diocese of the Bishop did meet all together to manage Church-Affairs. Thus when the Schism of Felicissimus in the Bishoprick of Carthage was to be debated, ^d It was to be done according to the Will of the People, and by the Consent of the Laity. And when there were some hot Disputes about the Lapsed, the said Cyprian promised his whole Diocese, ^e That all those Things should be examined before them, and be judged by them. And so also, when they were to send a Messenger to any foreign Church, all the People could meet together to chuse that Messenger, as they could in the ^f Church of Philadelphia.

Thus when the Schism of Felicissimus in the Bishoprick of Carthage was to be debated, ^d It was to be done according to the Will of the People, and by the Consent of the Laity.

^d Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, ea quæ agenda sunt disponere pariter & limare poterimus. Ad Plebem Epist. 40. §. 7. p. 94.

And when there were some hot Disputes about the Lapsed, the said Cyprian promised his whole Diocese, ^e That all those Things should be examined before them, and be judged by them.

^e Tunc examinabuntur singula præsentibus & judicantibus vobis. Ad Plebem Epist. 12. §. 1. p. 37.

^f Χερεσλονῆσαι Διάκονον. Ignat. Epist. ad Phil. p. 45.

26 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

Now put all these Observations together, and duly consider. whether they do not prove the Primitive Parishes to be no larger than our Modern ones are, that is, that they had no more Believers or Christians in them than there are now in ours; I do not say, that the Ancient Bishopricks had no larger Territories, or no greater Space of Ground, than our Parishes have. On the contrary, it is very probable that many of them had much more; since in those early Days of Christianity, in many Places the Faithful might be so few, as that for twenty or thirty Miles round, they might associate together under one Bishop, and make up but one Church, and that a small one too: But this I say, that how large soever their Local Extent was, their Members made but one single Congregation, and had no more Christians in it, than our Parishes now have; for that Diocese cannot possibly be more than one single Congregation, where all the People met together at one Time, Prayed together, Received the Sacrament together, assisted at Church Censures together, and dispatched Church Affairs together; and yet the Members of the Primitive Dioceses did all this together, as the preceding Observations evidently declare; so that I might stop here, and add no farther Proofs to that which hath been already so clearly proved.

§. 3. But yet that we may more clearly illustrate this Point, she shall demonstrate it by another Method, *viz.* By shewing the real Bulk and Size of those Bishopricks, concerning whom we have any Notices remaining on ancient Records; and manifest, that the very largest of them

them were no greater than our particular Congregations are. And for the Proof of this, we shall quote the Writings of St. Ignatius, in whose genuine Epistles there is such an Account of the Bishopricks of *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, *Philadelphia*, and *Trallium*, as manifestly evidences them to be but so many single Congregations.

As for the Diocese of *Smyrna*, its Extent could not be very large, since

^a nothing of Church-Affairs was done there without the Bishop; he baptized and administered the Eucharist, and none else could do it within his Cure without his Permission; wherever he was, his whole Flock followed him; which they might without any Inconveniency do, since they ^b frequently assembled together; as Ignatius advised Polycarp the Bishop of this Church, ^c To convene his Diocese to chuse a faithful honest Man to send a Messenger into Syria: So that the Bishop of this Church ^d could know his whole Flock personally by their Names, carrying himself respectfully and charitably to all ^e with all Meekness and

^a Μηδεις χωεις ἢ ἐπισκόπου τι προαίτω ἢ ἀνγκύλων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκείνη βεβαία δὲ χαρισία ἡσείδω ἢ ὑπο ἢ ἐπίσκοπον ἕσα ἢ ὅ ἂν ἀντὶς ἐπιβέβη ὅπου ἂν εἶη ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἕκαστὸν πλὴν ἑσῶ ἐκ ἐξόν ὅτιν χωεις ἢ ἐπισκόπου ἕτε βασιλίσαι, ἕτε ἀδάων ποιῆν, ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκιμάσῃ. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* p. 6.

^b Πυκνότερον συναβασαί γινέσθωσαν. *Epist. ad Polycarp.* p. 13.

^c Πρεσβῆ συμβέλιον ἀσάγαν χειροτονῆσαι τινα, &c. *Ibid.* p. 15.

^d Ἐξ ὑνόμασθ πάσας ζῆται. *Ibid.* p. 13.

^e Δέλευς κὺ δέλευς μὴ ὑποφάνει. *Ibid.* p. 13.

Humility towards Serving-men and Serving-maids, and charitably taking

^a Χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείδωσαν. *Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 12.*

^b Μὴδὲν ἀνὰ γνώμης σε γινέσθω. *Ibid. p. 12.*

^c Πρέπει ἢ τοῖς γαμῶσι καὶ γαμερῆταις μὴ γνώμης ἢ ὑποσκόπως τῷ ἕνωσιν ποιείσθαι. *Ibid. p. 13.*

Care of the Widows within his Diocese, permitting ^b nothing to be done there without his Privity. Inso-much, that none were mar-ried without his previous Advice and Consent. Now, how all these Things could be done, how all

this Bishoprick could meet together in one Place, how the Bishop could personally know all the Members thereof by their respective Names, even the meanest Serving-maids therein, and permit none to be married without his Knowledge and Advice, without reducing this Diocese to a single Parish, I know not.

§. 4. As for the Diocese of *Ephesus*, there was but one Altar or Communion Table in its whole Territory, at which they all communi-

^a Ἐνα ἄρτον κλώσῃς. *Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20, 29.*

^c Ἐὰν μὴ τις ἢ ἐνὸς ἢ δυσσιασθεῖ, ὑσερεῖται ἄρτος ἢ Θεοῦ. *Ibid. p. 20.*

cated together; whence they are said, ^a *To break the One Bread*; and ^c *he that was without or separated from that Altar, is said, To want the Bread of*

God. The Members also of this Church could all meet together in one Place, to send up their joint Prayers to God in Christ: And therefore

^e Ὅ ἐν μὴ ἐρχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἕτερον ἢ δὴ ἕψησανεῖ, καὶ ἑαυτὸν διεκρίνειν. *Ibid. p. 20.*

Ignatius condemns all those of that Diocese ^e *who did not assemble together in that one Place, with the rest of the Mem- bers*

bers thereof, to send up their Prayers to God as proud, self-conceited, and justly condemnable; because thereby they deprived themselves of that unconceivable Benefit, that would accrew unto them by joyning in the Prayers of the whole Church. ^a For if

the Prayer of One or Two hath so great a Force with God, how much more prevalent must the Prayer of the Bishop and the whole

^a Ἐι γδ ἐνθ ἡ δδλερε
περσδχῆ τοσαύτω ἰχύν
ἔχει, πδσω μάλλον ἢ τς
ἐπισκόπω ἡ πάσης ἐκκλη-
σίας. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 20.

Church be? So that if to communicate together, and to pray together, be the Marks of a particular Church, then this Bishoprick was one.

§. 5. As for the Church of Magnesia, they all assembled with the Bishop, having but

^b one Church, and ^c one Altar, ^d joining all together in one Prayer, because ^e to have congregated elsewhere would have been against Conscience and Precept. Now how large such a Church is, where there is but one

^b Ἐις ναὸν θεῶ. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 34.

^c Ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ. Ib. p. 34.

^d Ἐπὶ τδ αὐτδ μιὰ περσ-
σδχῆ. Ibid. p. 33.

^e Οὐκ ἄσυνείδησοι διὰ τδ
μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐπιστή-
συναδεγίσεσθ. Ibidem,
p. 32.

Meeting-place, and one Altar, where all communicate and pray together, is no hard Matter to determine.

§. 6. Touching the Bishoprick of Philadelphia, its Extent may be

guessed at by this, that the Members thereof ^f could do nothing without the Bishop, ^h who being their Shepherd, wherever

^f Ὅσοι γδ θεῶ εἰσὶν μδ
ἐπισκόπω εἰσὶν. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.

^h Ὅπως ὃ ὁ ποιμὴν ἔστω,
ἐκῆ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολου-
θεῖτε. Ibid. p. 40.

^a Μία ἄχαισιᾶ χερῶν ἐν πόλειον. *Epist. ad Philadelphia.* p. 40.

^b Ἐν δυσιασίον. *Ibid.* p. 41.

he was, they were to follow him like Sheep, ^a receiving the Sacrament all together from him, ^b at that one Altar belonging to their Diocese; which they

might well enough do, since their Multitudes were not so great, but that on other Occasions

^c Χειροτονῆσαι διακονον εἰς τὸ προσβῶσαι ἐκεῖ δεῦρ προσβείαν. *Ibid.* p. 45.

they could meet all together, as ^c to chuse a Messenger to send to the Church at Antioch in Syria.

§. 7. As for the Diocese of Trallium, that could be no larger than the former ones, since it had but one Altar in it, which was correlate to its one Bishop; so that to separate from the Altar, was the same, as to separate from the

^d Ὁ ἐνὸς δυσιασίον ἐν καθαρὸς ὄντιν, τὸτ' ὄντιν, ὁ χωρὸς ἁποκρίων καὶ προσβύσειν, καὶ διακόνων προσωπῆ ἔστ' ἔκ καθαρὸς ὄντιν τῆ συνειδήσει. *Epist. ad Tralles.* p. 50.

Bishop; whence Ignatius says, That ^d he that is within the Altar is pure; that is, He that doth any thing without the Bishop, Priests and Deacons, is impure.

Now let any impartial Man judge, whether all these Descriptions of those ancient Dioceses do not forcibly constrain us to reduce them to the Rate of our modern Parishes. And if these were no greater, especially *Ephesus*, at which Place *St. Paul* preached three Years, we have no Reason to imagine, that other Bishopricks where the Apostles never were, or at least never preach'd so long, surmounted their Bulk and Largeness.

How long it was before these Dioceses swell'd into

into several Congregations, is not my Business to determine, since it happened not within my prescribed Time; except in the Church of *Alexandria*; the Reason and Manner whereof shall be shewn in a few Leaves more, after that I have more fully evidenced this Point, by demonstrating, that the greatest Bishopricks in the World, even in the Third Century, were no more than so many single Congregations: And if this can be proved, it is the solideest Demonstration that can be given: For the larger a Church was, and the more Time it had to settle and encrease its self, the greater Reason have we to expect that it should exceed all others in Numbers and Diffusiveness.

Now the Four greatest Diocesess, that in those Days were in the World, are *Antioch*, *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Alexandria*. The Three former of which, during the whole three hundred Years after Christ, never branched themselves into several particular Congregations, though the latter did, as shall be hereafter shewn.

§. 8. As for the Diocese of *Antioch*, its Members were not so many, but that 265 Years after Christ, they were able to meet all in one Place; of which we have this memorable Instance, That when *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical Bishop thereof, was deprived by a Synod held in that Place, and *Domnus* substituted in his Room, ^a he refused to resign the Churches House, till the Emperor *Aurelian* forced him to resign ^b that House: So that for above 250 Years after

^a Μὴ δαμάσῃς ἐπιβῆναι τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκκλησίας οἴκῳ. Apud Euseb. Lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 282.

^b Τῶν οἴκων. Ibid.

Christ, the whole Bishoprick of *Antioch* had but one Church to serve God in.

§. 9. How large the Diocese of *Rome* was, may be conjectured by that ;

1. All the People thereof could meet together to perform Divine Service, as appears by that History of a certain Confessor called *Natalis*, who returning from the *Theodosian* Heresy, put himself into the Habit of a Penitent, threw himself at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, as

α Περσπεσεν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κλήρῳ, καϊκῶν, τῷ ἔυσπλασχνον ἐκκλησίαν τῇ δεήσει χριστάριον. *Anonym. apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 28. p. 197.*

they went into their public Meeting-place, and so bewailed his Fault, ^a that at length the Church was touched with Compassion towards him.

2. In this Diocese there was but one Church or Meeting-place ; for when Bishop *Anterus*

β Ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συγκεκροσμένοι. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.*

died, ^b All the Brethren met together in the Church, to chuse a Successor ; which distinction or nomination of Place, *viz.*

That they met in the Church, denotes that they had but one Church all ; for if they had had more Churches than one, the Historian would have left us in the dark, as to what Church they met in, whether in *St. James's*, *St. John's*, or *St. Peter's*.

3. In this Bishoprick also they had but one Altar or Communion-Table, as appears from a Passage of *Cyprian*, who describes the Schism

γ Profanum altare erigere. *Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

of *Novatian* a Presbyter of this Church, by ^c his erecting a prophane Altar, in

in opposition to the Altar of *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop.

4. The whole Diocese could concur together in Salutations and Letters to other Churches. Thus concludes a Letter of the Clergy of *Rome*

to the Clergy of *Carthage*, ^a *The Brethren which are in Bonds salute you, and the Presbyters, and the whole Church.*

^a Salutant vos fratres, qui sunt in vinculis, & Presbyteri, & tota Ecclesia. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3. §. 3. p. 12.*

5. Whatever Letters were writ to that Church, were read before them all, as it was the Custom of Bishop *Cornelius*, ^b *to read all publick Letters to his most holy and most numerous Flock.*

^b Sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi, legere te semper, literas nostras. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 21. p. 144.*

Lastly, The People of this Diocese met all together to chuse a Bishop, when the See was vacant. So upon the

Death of *Anterus*, ^c *All the Brethren met together in the Church to chuse a Successor, where all the People unanimously chose*

^c Τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπαύτων ἐπὶ τῆ ἐκκλησίας συγκεκλημένων, ἡ πάντα λαὸν. *Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.*

Fabianus. And so after the Death of *Fabianus*, *Cornelius* was chosen Bishop of that Diocese ^d *by the Suffrage of the Clergy and People.*

^d Cleri ac Plebis Suffragio. *Cyprian. Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.*

Now whether all these Things put together, whether their having but one Communion-Table in their whole Diocese, as also but one Church, where they all usually met, do not unavoidably reduce this Bishoprick to the Circumference

cumference of a modern Parish, I leave every Man to judge.

§. 10. The next Diocese to be considered is *Carthage*, which next to *Rome* and *Alexandria*, was the greatest City in the World, and probably had as many Christians in it, as either, especially if that is true, which *Tertullian* insinuates, that the tenth Part thereof was Christian; for he remonstrates to *Scapula* the Persecuting President of that

^a Quid ipsa Carthago passura est, decimanda ante. *Ad Scapulam*, p. 450.

City, that ^a if he should destroy the Christians of *Carthage*, he must root

out the tenth Part thereof. But yet how many soever the Christians of that Bishoprick were, even some Years after *Tertullian's* Days, they were no more in Number, than there are now in our Parishes, as is evident from Scores of Passages in the Writings of *Cyprian* Bishop of that Church. For,

^b Ut omnes optimè nossem. *Cyprian. Epist.* 38. §. 1. p. 90.

1. The Bishop of that Diocese ^b could know every one therein.

2. The Bishop of that Diocese was the common Curator of all the Poor therein, relieving the Poor and Indigent, paying of their Debts, and aiding the necessitous Tradesmen, with Money to set up their Trades. As *Cyprian*, when he was in his exil'd State, sent *Caldonius*, *Herculanus*, *Rogatianus*, and

^c Ut expungeretis necessitates fratrum nostrorum sumptibus, si qui etiam vellent suas artes exercere, additamento quantum satis esset, desideria eorum juvaretis. *Idem ibid.*

Numidicus to his Church at *Carthage*, ^c to pay off the Debts of the indebted Members thereof, and to help those poor Mechanicks with

with a convenient Sum of Money, who were willing to set up their Trades: If Cyprian's Diocese had consisted of Scores of Parishes, how many thousand Pounds must he have expended, to have paid off the Debts of all the insolvent Persons therein, and to have assisted every poor Trader with a sufficient Stock to carry on his Employment?

3. All the Diocese was present, when the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. So saith Cyprian, ^a *We celebrate the Sacrament, the whole Brotherhood being present.*

^a Sacramenti veritatem
Fraternitate omni præ-
sente celebramus. *Epist.*
63. §. 12. p. 117.

4. When Celerinus was ordained Lector or Clerk by Cyprian, he Read from the Pulpit, ^b *so that all the People could see and hear him.*

^b Plebi Universæ. *Epist.*
34. §. 4. p. 81.

5. In all Ordinations, all the People were consulted, and none were admitted into Holy Orders without their Approbation, as is assured by Cyprian Bishop of this Diocese, who tells us, That it was his constant Custom ^c *in all Ordinations to consult his People, and with their common Counsel to weigh the Merits of every Candidate of the Sacred Orders.*

^c In ordinationibus Clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere. & mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare. *Epist.*
33. ad Clerum & Plebem.
p. 76.

And therefore when for extraordinary Merits he advanced one to the Degree of a Lector or Clerk, without first communicating it to his Diocese, he writes from

36 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

^a Plebi Universæ. *Epist.* 34. p. 80. from his exil'd State
^a to his whole Flock. the Reason of it.

6. When that See was vacant, all the People met together to chuse a Bishop. Whence *Pontius* says, That *Cyprian* was elected Bishop of

^b Plebis favore. *In vita Cypriani.*

^c Populi universi Suffragio. *Epist.* 55. §. 7. p. 139.

this Diocese ^b by the Favour of the People. And *Cyprian* himself acknowledges, That he was chosen by ^c the Suffrage of all his People.

7. All the People of this Diocese could meet together to send Letters to other Churches;

^d Vicarias vero pro nobis ego & Collegæ, & Fraternitas omnis has ad vos literas mittimus *Apud Cyprian.* *Epist.* 58. §. 2. p. 163.

an Instance whereof we have in that gratulatory Letter still extant in *Cyprian*, which they ^d all sent to *Lucius* Bishop of Rome, on his Return from Exile.

8. All the People were present at Church-Censures, and concurred

^e Secundum vestra divina Suffragia conjurati. *Epist.* 4. ad Plebem, §. 1. p. 92.

at the ^e Excommunication of Offenders. Thus *Cyprian* writing from his Exile, to the People of

this his Diocese, about the Irregularities of two of his Subdeacons, and one of his Acolyths; and about the Schism of *Felicissimus*, assures them, that as to the former, when ever it should please God to return him in Peace,

^f Et cum plebe ipsa universa. *Epist.* 28. §. 2. p. 64.

^f it should be determined by him and his Colleagues, and his whole Flock. And

as to the latter, that then likewise that should be transacted ^a according to the Arbitrement of the People, and the common Counsel of them all.

^a Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, & omnium nostrum commune Consilium. *Epist.* 40. ad Plebem, §. 7. p. 94.

9. At the Absolution of Penitents, all the People were present, who examined the Reality of the Offenders Repentance; and if well satisfied of it, consented, that they should be admitted to the Churches Peace. Therefore when some Presbyters in a time of Persecution, had with too great Rashness and Precipitancy assoyled some of those, that through the Violence of the Persecution had succumbed, Cyprian writes them from his Exile an objurgatory Letter, commanding them to admit no more, till Peace should be restored to the Church, when those Offenders *should plead their*

Cause ^b before all the People. And touching the same Matter he writes in another Place to all the

^b Acturi apud Plebem universam causam suam. *Epist.* 10. §. 7. p. 30.

People of his Diocese, that when it should please God to restore Peace to the Church, then all those Matters

^c should be examined in their Presence, and be judged by them.

^c Examinabuntur singula presentibus & judicantibus vobis. *Epist.* 12. ad Plebem, §. 1. p. 30.

Lastly, Nothing was done in the Diocess without the Consent of the People. So resolved Bishop Cyprian ^d from the first Time I was made Bishop, said he, I determin-

done in the Diocess

^d A primordio episcopatus mei statueram nihil sine consensu Plebis meae privatâ sententiâ gerere. *Epist.* 6. §. 5. p. 17.

ed to do nothing without the Consent of my People. And accordingly, when he was exil'd from his Flock, he writ to the Clergy and Laity thereof, that when it should please God to return

him unto them, ^a all Affairs, as their mutual Honour did require, should be debated in common by them.

^a De iis quæ vel gesta sunt, vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuus poscit, in commune tractabimus. *Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.*

Now whether all these Observations do not evidently reduce the Diocese of *Carthage* to the same Bulk with our Parishes, I leave to every one to determine: For my part, I must needs profess, that I cannot imagine, how all the People thereof could receive the Sacrament together, assist at the Excommunication and Absolution of Offenders, assemble together to elect their Bishop, and do the rest of those fore-mentioned Particulars, without confining this Bishoprick within the Limits of a particular Congregation.

§. II. As for the Diocese of *Alexandria*, though the Numbers of the Christians therein were not so many, but that in the Middle of the Fourth Century, they could all, or at least most of them, meet together in one Place, as I might evince from the Writings of ^b *Athanasius*, were it not beyond my prescribed Time; yet in the Third Century they had divided themselves into several distinct and separate Congregations, which were all subjected to one Bishop, as is clearly enough asserted by *Dionysius*, Bishop of this Church, who mentions,

^b Apolog. ad Constant.

mentions, ^a the distinct
 Congregations in the ex-
 tremest Suburbs of the Ci-
 ty. The Reason whereof
 seems to be this; Those
 Members of this Bishop-

^a Ἐν περὶ αἰετοῖς πόρρω-
 τέρω κειμένοις καὶ μέρῳ
 ἑσὸν ἁισυναίωσι. *Advers.*
Germanum apud Euseb.
lib. 7. cap. 11. p. 260.

rick, who lived in the remotest Parts of it,
 finding it incommodious and troublesom every
 Lord's Day, *Saturday, Wednesday* and *Friday* (on
 which Days they always assembled) to go to
 their one usual Meeting-place, which was very
 far from their own Homes; and withal being
 unwilling to divide themselves from their old
 Church and Bishop, lest they should seem guilty
 of the detestable Sin of Schism; which con-
 sisted in a causeless Separation from their Bi-
 shop and Parish-Church, as shall be hereafter
 shewn, desired their proper Bishop, to give
 them Leave for Conveniency-sake, to erect near
 their own Habitations a Chapel of Ease, which
 should be a Daughter-Church to the Bishop's,
 under his Jurisdiction, and guided by a Pres-
 byter of his Commission and Appointment;
 whereat they would usually meet, tho' on some
 solemn Occasions they would still all assemble
 in one Church with their one Bishop.

That for this Reason these separate Congre-
 gations were introduc'd at *Alexandria*, seems
 evident enough; because *Dionysius Alexandrinus*
 saith, That these distinct Congregations were
 only in the ^b remotest
 Suburbs; and the Chri-
 stians hereof were not as
 yet arrived to those great

^b Ἐν περὶ αἰετοῖς πόρρω-
 τέρω κειμένοις. *Vide ut*
antea.

Numbers, but that seventy Years after they
 could

could meet all together in one and the same Place, as might be proved from that forementioned Place of *Athanasius*.

So that these distinct Congregations were only for the Conveniency and Ease of those who lived at a great distance from the Bishop's Church, being introduced in the third Century, and peculiar to the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*: All other Bishopricks confining themselves within their Primitive Bounds of a single Congregation, as we have before proved the largest of them did; even *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*.

§. 12. If then a Bishoprick was but a single Congregation, it is no Marvel that we find Bishops not only in Cities, but in Country Villages; there being a Bishop constituted, wherever there were Believers enough to form a competent Congregation; For, says *Clemens Romanus*,

^a Κατὰ χώρας ἕν, καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καὶ δίδασκον — εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους, *Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 54.*

^b Per omnes Provincias, & per urbes singulas ordinati sunt Episcopi. *Epist. 52. §. 16. p. 119.*

Epistle of the Synod

^c Ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁρίων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων. *Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 281.*

manus, the Apostles going forth, and ^a preaching both in Country and City, constituted Bishops and Deacons there. Much to which purpose *Cyprian* says, That ^b Bishops were ordained throughout all Provinces and Cities: Hence in the encyclical of *Antioch*, it is said, That *Paulus Samosatenus* had many Flatterers ^c amongst the adjacent City and Country Bishops; of this Sort of Country Bishops

Bishops was *Zoticus*, Bishop ^a of the Village of *Comane*. And we may reasonably believe, That many of those Bishops, who in the Year 258, were assembled at ^b *Carthage* to the Number of fourscore and seven, had

^a Ζωτικὸν ἐπὶ κομάνης κωμῆς. *Anonym. apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 182.*

^b *Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 443.*

no other than obscure Villages for their Seats, since we find not the least Notice of them in *Ptolomy*, or any of the old Geographers.

§. 13. But let the Bishops Seats have been in any Place whatever, their Limits, as hath been proved, exceeded not those of our Modern Parishes: I do not here mean, as was said before, that the Territory of some of them was no larger; no, I readily grant that; for it is very probable, that in those Places, where there were but few Believers, the Christians, for several Miles round, met all together at the greatest Place within that Compass, where probably there were most Christians, whence both the Church and its Bishop took their Denomination from that Place where they so assembled. But this is what I mean, that there were no more Christians in that Bishoprick, than there are now in our ordinary Parishes; and that the Believers of that whole Territory met all together with their Bishop for the Performance of Religious Services.

Thus it was in the Age and Country of *Justin Martyr*, who describing their solemn

^a Τῇ ᾧ ἡλικίᾳ λεγομένη
 ἡμέρᾳ πάντων καὶ πόλεις
 ἢ ἀγροὺς μενούσων ἐπὶ τὸ
 αὐτὸ συνέλθοις γίνεσθαι—
 ὁ πρεσβυτέρωσ διαβὰ λόγου τινὸν
 νεθεσίαν—ποιεῖσθαι ἐπι-
 λαβὴν πρεσβυτέρωσ, καὶ
 ὁ πρεσβυτέρωσ εὐχαρίσταν ἀναπέμ-
 πτει—καὶ τοῖσ ἐπαρῶσ δια-
 βὰ διακόνων πέμπεισθαι. A-
 ppolog. 2. p. 98.

Elements to those that were absent. So that the Inhabitants both of City and Country, assembled all at the Bishop's Church, hearing him, and communicating with him, following here- in the Exhortation of St. Ignatius to the

^b Μηδὲν ἕσω ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ
 δυνήσεσθαι ὑμᾶσ μερίσαι·
 ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπι-
 σκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖσ πρεσβυτέ-
 ρωσ—ὡσπερ ἐν κύριῳ
 ἀνὰ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν ἐμοί-
 ησ ἐνώθησθαι ὡν, ἕτε δι'
 ἑαυτῶσ, ἕτε διὰ τῶσ ἀποστό-
 λων, ἕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖσ
 ἀνὰ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ
 πρεσβυτέρωσ μηδὲν πείσ-
 σεσθαι—ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ
 αὐτὸ μία προσευχή μία
 δέησις, εἰς νῦσ, μία ἐλπίσ.
 Epist. ad Magnes. p. 33.

Epist. ad Magnes. p. 33.

Assemblies, writes, That
^a on Sunday all the Inha-
 bitants both of City and
 Country met together, where
 the Lector read some Por-
 tions of the Holy Scrip-
 tures; and the Bishop
 preached unto them, ad-
 ministred the Eucharist,
 and sent by the Deacons
 Part of the consecrated

Elements to those that were absent. So that the Inhabitants both of City and Country, assembled all at the Bishop's Church, hearing him, and communicating with him, following here- in the Exhortation of St. Ignatius to the

Magnesians, ^b Let no-
 thing, saith he, be in you,
 that may divide you; but
 be united to the Bishop,
 and those that preside over
 you: As therefore our
 Lord Jesus Christ did no-
 thing without his Father,
 neither by himself, nor
 his Apostles, so do you no-
 thing without the Bishop
 and Presbyters, but assem-
 ble into one Place, and
 have one Prayer, one Sup-

C H A P. III.

§. 1. *What the Bishop's Office was.* §. 2. *Always resident on his Cure.* §. 3. *How the Bishop was Chosen, Elected, or Presented by the Majority of the Parish.* §. 4. *Approved by the neighbouring Bishops.* §. 5. *Installed by Imposition of Hands. How many Bishops necessary to this Instalment.* §. 6. *When a Bishop was promoted, he certified it to other Bishops.* §. 7. *A brief Recapitulation of the peculiar Acts of the Bishop.*

§. I. **T**HE Bishop's Flock having been so largely discussed, it will now be necessary to speak something of the Bishop's Duty towards them, and of the several Particulars of his honourable Office: I shall not here be tedious, since about this there is no great Difference; only briefly enumerate the several Actions belonging to his Charge.

In brief therefore; the particular Acts of his Function were such as these, viz. ^h Preaching the Word, ⁱ Praying with his People, Administring the Two Sacraments of ^k Baptism and the ^l Lord's Supper, ^m Taking Care of the Poor, ⁿ Ordaining of Ministers, ^o Governing his Flock, ^p Excommunicating of Offenders, ^q Absolving of Penitents; and, in a word, whatever Acts

^h Origen. in Ezekiel. Hom. 3.

ⁱ Justin. Martyr. Apol. 2 p. 98.

^k Tertul. de Baptism. p. 602.

^l Idem de Coron. Milit. p. 338.

^m Justin. Martyr. Apol. 2. p. 99.

ⁿ Firmilian. apud Cypr. Epist. 75. §. 6. p. 237.

^o Tertul. Apol. cap. 39. p. 709.

^p Cypr. Ep. 38. §. 2. p. 90.

^q Idem. Ep. 10. §. 2. p. 30.

44 The Constitution, Discipline, &c.

can be comprised under those Three general Heads of Preaching, Worship, and Government, were Part of the Bishop's Function and Office.

I have but just named these Things, because they are not much controverted; and my Design leads me chiefly to the Consideration of those Matters which have been unhappily disputed amongst us.

§. 2. To the constant Discharge of those fore-mentioned Actions, did the Primitive Bishops sedulously apply themselves, continually preaching unto their People, praying with them, and watching over them, and to that End, residing always with them; which Incumbency or Residency on their Parishes, was deem'd so necessary, that *Cyprian* enumerating the Sins that brought the Wrath of God upon the Churches in that bloody Persecution of *Decius*, mentions

^a Episcopi derelictâ cathedrâ, plebe desertâ, per alienas Provincias oberantes, negotiationis questuosæ nundinas aucupari. *De Lapsis*, §. 4. p. 278.

And therefore the said *Cyprian* writing to the *Roman* Confessors, who were inveigled

^b Nos Ecclesiâ derelictâ, foras exire, & ad vos venire non possumus. *Epist.* 44. §. 2. p. 102.

into the Schism of *Novatian*, tells them, ^b That since he could not leave his Church, and come in Person unto them, therefore by his Letters he most earnestly exhorted them to quit that Schismatical Faction; so that

the Bishops Non-Residencies as one; ^a Their leaving their Rectories, and deserting their Flocks, and wandring about the Country to hunt after worldly Gain and Advantage:

the said *Cyprian* writing into the Schism of *Novatian*, tells them, ^b That since he could not leave his Church, and come in Person unto them, there-

he

he look'd on his Obligation of Residency at his Church to be so binding, as that in no Case almost could he warrant the leaving of it; which Determination of his might be the more fix'd and peremptory, because that not long before he was so severely tax'd ^a by the *Roman* Clergy, and by many of his own ^b Parish, for departing from them for a while, though it was to avoid the Fury of his Persecutors, who had already proscrib'd him, and would have executed him as a Malefactor, had he not by that Recess from his Church, escap'd their murderous Hand.

^a Epist. 3. apud Cyprian.
^b Pontius in vita Cypriani.

So that the Primitive Apostolick Bishops constantly resided with their Flocks, conscientiously applying themselves with the utmost Diligence and Industry to the Promotion of the spiritual Welfare of those that were committed to their Trust, employing themselves in all Acts of Piety, and Offices of Charity; so leading a laborious and mortified Life, till either a natural, or a violent Death removed them from Earth to Heaven, where they were made Priests to the Most High, and were infinitely remunerated for all their Pains and Sorrows; and so leaving their particular Flocks on Earth to be fed and govern'd by others, who should succeed them in their Places; which brings me in the next place to enquire, How a vacant Bishoprick was supply'd, or in what manner a Bishop or Minister was elected to a Diocess or Parish?

§. 3. Now the Manner of electing a Bishop,

I find to be thus: When a Parish or Bishoprick was vacant thro' the Death of the Incumbent, all the Members of that Parish, both Clergy and Laity, met together in the Church commonly, to chuse a fit Person for his Successor, to whom they might commit the Care and Government of their Church.

Thus when *Alexander* was chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem*, it was by the

^a Ἀδελφοὶ ἐκέτ' οἰκαδε αὐτῷ παλινοσεῖν ἐπιρέε-
ωσι. *Euseb. lib. 6. c. 11.*
p. 212.

^a Compulsion or Choice of the Members of that Church. And as for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, we

have a memorable Instance of this Kind in the Advancement of *Fabianus* to that See, upon the

Death of Bishop *Ante-
rus*: ^b All the People met together in the Church to chuse a Successor, proposing several illustrious and eminent Personages, as fit for that Office, whilst no one so much as thought upon *Fabianus* then present, till a Dove miraculously came and sat upon his Head, in the same Manner as the Holy Ghost formerly descended on our Saviour; and then all the People, guided as it were, with one Divine Spirit, cried out with one Mind and Soul, That *Fabianus* was worthy of the Bishoprick;

^b Τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάν-
των χειροτονίας ἐνεκεν τῆ
μέλλουσι ὁ διαδεξέσθαι
τῷ ἐπισκοπῷ ἐπὶ τῆ ἐκ-
κλησίας συσκευαστημένων,
πλείστων τε ἐπιφανῶν καὶ
ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς πολ-
λοῖς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ὑπαρχόν-
των, ὁ Φαβιανὸς παρών,
ἔδενός μὲν αἰτηρώπων εἰς
διάνοιαν ἦεν, ὅμως δ' ἐν
ἀδρόως ἐκ μελεώρου περ-
σερῶν καὶ ἀσπλάσαν ἐπικα-
δεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτῷ κεφαλῇ
μνημονώεσι, μίμημα ἐν-
δεικνυμένῳ τῆ ἐπὶ τῆ
σώσῃσιν ἁγίᾳ πνεύμα-
τι ἐν εἶδει περὶσερῶν κα-
θόδου, ἐφ' ᾧ τ' πάντα λαὸν
ὡσπερ ὑσ' ἐνὸς πνεύματος
θεοῦ κινήθησαν ὁμοσε, περ-
θυμία πάσῃ καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ
ἕξιον ἐπιθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀμελ-

rick; and so straight-ways taking him, they placed him on the Episcopal Throne. And as Fabianus, so likewise his Successor Cornelius ^a was elected by the Suffrage of the Clergy and Laity.

Thus also with respect to the Diocese of Carthage, Cyprian was chosen Bishop thereof by its Inhabitants and Members, as Pontius his Deacon writes, ^b *That though he was a Novice, yet by the Grace of God, and the Favour of the People, he was elevated to that sublime Dignity; which is no more than acknowledges, who frequently owns, that he was promoted to that Honourable Charge by the ^c Suffrage of the People.*

λίτως ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας ἀπόδον ἐπιθεῖναι. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. p. 229.

^a Episcopo Cornelio— Cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato. Cyprian. Epist. 67. §. 2. p. 198.

^b Judicio Dei, & plebis favore ad Officium Sacerdotii, & Episcopatus Gradum, adhuc Neophytus electus est. In vita Cypriani.

what Cyprian himself

^c Populi universi suffragio. Epist. 55. §. 7. p. 139. Populi suffragium. Epist. 55. §. 6. p. 138. Suffragium vestrum, Epist. 40. §. 1. p. 92.

§. 4. When the People had thus elected a Bishop, they presented him to the neighbouring Bishops for their Approbation and Consent, because without their concurrent Assent, there could be no Bishop legally instituted, or confirmed.

Thus when the fore-mentioned Alexander was chosen Bishop of Jerusalem, by the Brethren of that Place; he had also the

^a common

† Τὸτο ὃ προΐξαντες μετὰ
κοινῆς τῶ ἐπισκόπων οὐτὰς
πέριξ διεΐπον ἐκκλησίας
γνώμης. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap.*
11. p. 212.

† *common Consent of the circumjacent Bishops.* Now the Reason of this, I suppose, was, lest the People thro' Ignorance or Affection, should chuse

an unfit, or an unable Man for that sacred Office, it being suppos'd, that a Synod of Bishops had more Wisdom, Learning, and Prudence, than a Congregation of unlearned and ignorant Men, and so were better able to judge of the Abilities and Qualifications of the Person elect, than the People were. Hence we find, that sometimes the Election of a Bishop is attributed to the Choice of the Neighbouring Bishops, with the Consent and Suffrage of the People: This Custom generally prevail'd throughout

|| Apud nos, & fere per Provincias universas tenetur, ut ad Ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique convenient, & Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsentè, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus Conversatione perspexit. Quod factum videmus in Sabini Ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis Suffragio, & de Episcoporum judicio Episcopatus ei deferretur. *Synod. African. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 6. p. 202.*

Africa; where upon the Vacancy of a See, || The Neighbouring Bishops of the Province met together at that Church, and chose a Bishop in the Presence of the People, who knew his Life and Conversation before; which Custom was observed in the Election of Sabinus, Bishop of Emerita in Spain, who was advanced to that Dignity by the Suffrage of all the Brethren, and of all the Bishops there present. But whether the Election of a Bishop, be ascribed to the adjoining Ministers,
or

or to the People of that Parish, it comes all to one and the same Thing; neither the Choice of the Bishops of the Voisinage, without the Consent of the People; nor the Election of the People, without the Approbation of those Bishops, was sufficient and valid of it self; but both concurred to a legal and orderly Promotion, which was according to the Example of the Apostles and Apostolick Preachers, who in the first Plantation of Churches, ^a *Ordained Bishops and Deacons, with the Consent of the whole Church*

^a Κατασαδένας ὑπὸ ἐκείνων ἢ μετὰ αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν συνδοκησάσης τῆ ἐκκλησίας πάσης. Clem. Roman. Ep. 1. ad Corinth. p. 57.

§. 5. A Bishop being thus elected and confirmed, the next Thing that followed, was his Ordination or Installment, which was done in his own Church by the neighbouring Bishops; as *Cyprian* mentions some Bishops in his Time, who went to a ^b *City called Capse to install a Bishop*; whither when they were come, they took the Bishop Elect, and in the Presence of his Flock, ordained, or installed him Bishop of that Church, by Imposition of Hands, as *Sabinus* was ^d *placed in his Bishoprick by Imposition of Hands*. Therefore *Fortunatus* the schismatical Bishop of Carthage, ^c *got five Bishops to come and ordain him at Carthage*: And so *Novatian*, when

^b In Capsensi Civitate propter Ordinationem Episcopi essetis. Epist. 53. §. 1. p. 131.

^c Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei imponeretur. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. 1. 6. p. 202.

^d Quinque Pseudo-episcopi Carthaginem venerint, & Fortunatum sibi dementiæ suæ socium constituerint. Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 12. p. 140.

^a Ἐπισκόπος τρεῖς ἀνδρά-
 πως ἀρετίκας καὶ ἀπλοῦς ἀ-
 γῆς πλάσῃ τινὶ ἐπιχειρή-
 σει ἐξασπίση — μετὰ
 βίας ἠνάγκασεν ἐκονικῆ
 τινὶ καὶ μετὰ αἰά χειροπιθε-
 σία ἐπισκοπῶν αὐτῷ δῆ-
 ναί. *Cornel. apud Euseb.*
lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 243.

he schismatically aspired to the Bishoprick of Rome, that he might not seem to leap in uncanonically; ^a wheedled Three ignorant and simple Bishops to come to Rome, and instal him in that Bishoprick by Imposition of Hands.

How many Bishops were necessary to this installing of a Bishop-elect, I find not; Three were sufficient, as is apparent from the fore-cited Action of *Novatian*; whether less would do, I know not, since I find not the least Foot-steps of it in my Antiquity, unless that from *Novatian's* sending for, and fetching just Three Bishops out of *Italy*, we conclude that Number to be necessary.

But if there were more than Three, it was not accounted unnecessary or needless; for the more Bishops there were present at an Instalment, the more did its Validity and Unexceptionableness appear: Whence *Cyprian* argues the undeniable Legality of *Cornelius's* Promo-

^b Episcopo in Ecclesia à sedecim Coepiscopis facto. *Epist. 52. §. 16. p. 119.*

tion to the See of Rome, because he had ^b sixteen Bishops present at his Ordination: And for this

Reason it was, that *Fortunatus*, the Schismatical Bishop of *Carthage*, falsely boasted, That there were ^c Twenty-five

^c Jaetare viginti quinque Episcopos affuisse. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 12. p. 140.*

Bishops present at his Instalment. And thus in short, we have viewed the Method of the An-
 cients

cients in their Election of Bishops; we have shewn, that they were elected by the People, approved and installed by the neighbouring Bishops; on which Account it is, that *Cyprian* ^a *Delecti, ordinati. Epist.* calls them ^a *Chosen and* ^{41. §. 2. p. 97.}
Ordained.

§. 6. It may not now be amiss to mention this Custom, that when a Bishop was thus presented and advanced to a See, he immediately gave Notice of it to other Bishops, especially to the most renowned Bishops and Bishopricks, as ^b *Cornelius* writ to *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, ^b *Tu te Episcopum factum literis nunciare. Cyprian. Ep 42. §. 4. p. 99.* an Account of his being promoted to the See of *Rome*; betwixt which Two Churches, there was such a peculiar Intercourse and Harmony, as that this Custom was more particularly observed by them, insomuch that it was observed by the Schismatical Bishops of each Church, ^c *Novatian* giving Notice to *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, of his Promotion to the Church of *Rome*: And ^d *Fortunatus* advising *Cornelius*, Bishop of *Rome*, of his Advancement to the Church of *Carthage*. ^c *Venerunt ad nos missi à Novatiano Maximus Presbyter, &c. Cyprian. Epist. 41. §. 1. p. 96.* ^d *Ad te Legati à Fortunato missi. Idem. Epist. 55. §. 18. p. 143.*

§. 7. Let what hath been spoken now suffice for the peculiar Acts of the Bishop: We have proved, that there was but one Bishop to a Church, and one Church to a Bishop; we have shewn the Bishop's Office and Function, Election and

and Ordination; what farther to add on this Head, I know not: For as for those other Acts which he perform'd jointly with his Flock, we must refer them to another Place, till we have handled those other Matters which previously propose themselves unto us: The first of which will be an Examination into the Office and Order of a Presbyter, which, because it will be somewhat long, shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

C H A P. IV.

§. 1. *The Definition and Description of a Presbyter; what he was.* §. 2. *Inferior to a Bishop in Degree:* §. 3. *But equal to a Bishop in Order.* §. 4. *The Reason why there were many Presbyters in a Church.* §. 5. *Presbyters not necessary to the Constitution of a Church.* §. 6. *When Presbyters began.*

§. 1. **I**T will be both needless and tedious to endeavour to prove, That the Ancients generally mention Presbyters distinct from Bishops. Every One, I suppose, will readily own and acknowledge it. The great Question which hath most deplorably sharpned and sour'd the Minds of too many, is what the Office and Order of a Presbyter was: About this the World hath been, and still is most uncharitably divided; some equalize a Presbyter in every thing with a Bishop; others as much debase him, each according to their particular Opinions, either advance or degrade him. In many Controversies

troverfies a middle Way hath been the fafeft, perhaps in this, the Medium between the two Extremes may be the trueft: Whether what I am now going to fay, be the true State of the Matter, I leave to the learned Reader to determine; I may be deceived, neither my Years nor Abilities, exempt me from Mistakes and Errors: But this I must needs fay, That after the most diligent Re-searches, and impartialst Enquiries, The following Notion seems to me most plausible, and most consentaneous to Truth; and which, with a great Facility and Clearness, solves those Doubts and Objections, which, according to those other Hypotheses, I know not how to answer. But yet however, I am not so wedded and bigotted to this Opinion, but if any shall produce better, and more convincing Arguments to the contrary, I will not contentiously defend, but readily relinquish it, since I search after Truth, not to promote a particular Party or Interest.

Now for the better Explication of this Point; I shall first lay down a Definition and Description of a Presbyter, and then prove the Parts thereof.

Now the Definition of a Presbyter may be this: *A Person in Holy Orders, having thereby an inherent Right to perform the whole Office of a Bishop; but being possessed of no Place or Parish, not actually discharging it, without the Permission and Consent of the Bishop of a Place or Parish.*

But lest this Definition should seem obscure, I shall illustrate it by the following Instance: As a Curate hath the same Mission and Power with the Minister, whose Place he supplies; yet

yet being not the Minister of that Place, he cannot perform there any Acts of his Ministerial Function, without Leave from the Minister thereof: So a Presbyter had the same Order and Power with a Bishop, whom he assisted in his Cure; yet being not the Bishop or Minister of that Cure, he could not there perform any Parts of his Pastoral Office, without the Permission of the Bishop thereof: So that what we generally render Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, would be more intelligible in our Tongue, if we did express it by Rectors, Vicars, and Deacons; by Rectors, understanding the Bishops; and by Vicars, the Presbyters; the former being the actual Incumbents of a Place, and the latter Curates or Assistants, and so different in Degree, but yet equal in Order.

Now this is what I understand by a Presbyter; for the Confirmation of which, these two Things are to be proved.

I. That the Presbyters were the Bishops Curates and Assistants, and so inferiour to them in the actual Exercise of their Ecclesiastical Commission.

II. That yet notwithstanding, they had the same inherent Right with the Bishops, and so were not of a distinct specifick Order from them. Or more briefly thus:

1. That the Presbyters were different from the Bishops *in gradu*, or *in degree*; but yet,
2. They were equal to them in *Ordine*, or *in Order*.

§. 2. As to the First of these; That Presbyters were but the Bishops Curates and Assistants, inferiour to them in Degree, or in the actual

actual Discharge of their Ecclesiastical Commission. This will appear to have been in effect already prov'd, if we recollect what has been asserted, touching the Bishop and his Office, That there was but one Bishop in a Church; That he usually performed all the Parts of Divine Service; That he was the general Disposer and Manager of all things within his Diocese, there being nothing done there without his Consent and Approbation: To which we may particularly add,

1. That without the Bishop's Leave, a Presbyter could not baptize: Thus saith *Tertulian*, ^a *The Bishop hath the Right of Baptizing, then the Presbyters and Deacons; but yet for the Honour of the Church, not without the Authority of the Bishop; and to the same effect saith Ignatius*, ^b *It is not lawful for any one to baptize, except the Bishop permit him.*

^a Baptisum dandi habet jus — Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate propter Ecclesie honorem. *De Baptism. p. 602.*

^a Ουκ ἔξδν ὄειν χωεὶς τῆ ἐπισκόπῳ ἔτε βαπτίζειν. *Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.*

2. Without the Bishop's Permission, a Presbyter could not administer the Lord's Supper. ^c *That Eucharist, says Ignatius, is only valid, which is performed by the Bishop, or by whom he shall permit; for it is not lawful for any One to celebrate the Eucharist, without Leave from the Bishop.*

^c Ἐκεῖνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡ γινώσκω ἢ ὑπὸ τῆ ἐπισκοπῶν ἢ σα ἢ ὡ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ἐκ ἔξδν ὄειν χωεὶς τῆ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀγάπῳ ποιεῖν. *Epist. ad Smyrn p. 6.*

3. Without the Bishop's Consent, a Presbyter could not preach; and when he did preach,

he could not chuse his own Subject, but discourf'd on those Matters which were enjoy'd

^a Τα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐγγραφειμύθῳ, φήσιν, ἡξίλαζέδω. Homil. de Engastrym. p. 28. Vol. 1.

him by the Bishop, as ^a the Bishop commanded Origen to preach about the Witch of Endor.

4. Without the Bishop's Permission, a Presbyter could not absolve Offenders, therefore

^a Aliqui de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini Judicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub Antecessoribus factum est, cum contumeliâ & contemptu præpositi totum sibi vendicent. *Epist. 10. §. 1. p. 29. Vide etiam Epist. 11. §. 1. p. 32. & Epist. 12. §. 1. p. 37.*

Cyprian ^b severely chides some of his Presbyters, because they dared in his Absence, without his Consent and Leave, to give the Church's Peace to some offending Criminals.

But what need I reckon up Particulars, when in general there was no Ecclesiastical Office performed by the Presbyters, without the Consent and Permission of the Bishop: So says Ignatius,

^c Μὴδὲις χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρῶτον τῷ ἀντικόβῳ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.*

^c Let nothing be done of Ecclesiastical Concerns, without the Bishop; for ^d Whosoever doth any Thing without the Knowledge of the Bishop, is a Worshipper of the Devil.

^d Ὁ λάτρεα ἐπισκόπου τι πρῶτον τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεῖ. *Idem ibid. p. 7.*

Now had the Presbyters had an equal Power in the Government of those Churches wherein they lived, how could it have been impudent and

and usurping in them to have perform'd the particular Acts of their Ecclesiastical Function, without the Bishop's Leave and Consent? No, it was not fit or just, that any one should preach or govern in a Parish, without the Permission of the Bishop or Pastor thereof; for where Churches had been regularly formed under the Jurisdiction of their proper Bishops, it had been an unaccountable Impudence, and a most detestable Act of Schism, for any one, tho' never so legally ordained, to have entred those Parishes, and there to have performed Ecclesiastical Administrations, without the Permission of, or which is all one, in Defiance to the Bishops, or Ministers thereof; for though a Presbyter by his Ordination had as ample an inherent Right and Power to discharge all Clerical Offices, as any Bishop in the World had; yet Peace, Unity and Order, oblig'd him not to invade that Part of God's Church, which was committed to another Man's Care, without that Man's Approbation and Consent.

So then in this Sense a Presbyter was inferior to a Bishop in Degree, in that having no Parish of his own, he could not actually discharge the particular Acts of his Ministerial Function, without Leave from the Bishop of a Parish or Diocese: The Bishops were superior to the Presbyters, in that they were the presented, instituted, and inducted Ministers of their respective Parishes; and the Presbyters were inferior to the Bishops, in that they were but their Curates and Assistants.

§. 3. But though the Presbyters were thus different from the Bishops in Degree, yet they

were of the very same specifick Order with them, having the same inherent Right to perform those Ecclesiastical Offices, which the Bishop did, as will appear from these three Arguments.

1. That by the Bishop's Permission they discharged all those Offices, which a Bishop did.
2. That they were called by the same Titles and Appellations as the Bishops were: And,
3. That they are expressly said to be of the same Order with the Bishops. As to the first of these, That by the Bishop's Permission, they discharged all those Offices which a Bishop did; this will appear from that,

1. When the Bishop ordered them, they preach'd. Thus *Origen*, in the Beginning of some of his Sermons, tells us, That he was commanded thereunto by the Bishop, as particularly when he preach'd

^a Ταὐτὸν δὲ ἐψαυσε μὲν οὐκ, ὁσίον, ἐξέλαζε δὲ. *Hom. de Engastrim. p. 28. Vol. 1.*

about the Witch of *Endor*, he says, ^a *The Bishop commanded him to do it.*

2. By the Permission of the Bishop, Presbyters baptized. Thus writes *Tertullian*, ^b *The Bishop has the Right of Baptizing, and then the Presbyters, but not without his Leave.*

^b Baptisum dandi habet jus Episcopus, de hinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate. *De Baptism. p. 602.*

3. By the Leave of the Bishop, Presbyters administred the Eucharist, as must be supposed in that Saying of *Ignatius*, ^c *That that Eucharist only was valid, which was celebrated by the Bishop,*

^c Ἐκείνην βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἠγείσθω ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου ἔστω, ἢ ὅτι ἀνὰ τοῦ ἐπιτροπέου — ἐκ τῆς

shop,

shop, or by one appointed by him; and that the Eucharist could not be delivered but by the Bishop, or by one whom he did approve.

ὅτιν χρεῖς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀγάπῳ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὄν. ἀν. ἐκείνῳ δοκιμάσῃ. *Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 6.*

4. The Presbyters ruled in those Churches to which they belonged, else this Exhortation of Polycarpus to the Presbyters of Philippi, would have been in vain;

^a Let the Presbyters be tender and merciful, compassionate towards all, reducing those that are in

^a *Epist. ad Philip. §. 5.* Thus translated by Dr. Cave, in the Life of St. Polycarp, p. 127.

Errors, visiting all that are weak, not negligent of the Widow and the Orphan, and him that is poor; but ever providing what is honest in the Sight of God and Men; abstaining from all Wrath, Respect of Persons, and unrighteous Judgment; being far from Covetousness, not hastily believing a Report against any Man, not rigid in Judgment, knowing that we are all faulty, and obnoxious to Judgment: Hence,

5. They presided in Church-Consistories together with the Bishop, and composed the executive Part of the Ecclesiastical Court; from whence it was called the Presbytery, because in

it, as Tertullian says, ^b Approved Elders did preside.

^b *Probatī præsident Seniores. Apol. c. 39. p. 709.*

6. They had also the Power of Excommunication, as ^c Rogatianus and Numidicus, Two Presbyters of Cyprian's

^c *Vid. Cyprian. Epist. 38, & 39. p. 90, & 92.*

Church, by his Order joyn'd with some Bishops of his Nomination, in the Excommunication of

certain Schismatics of his Diocese. But of both these Two Heads, more will be spoken in another Place.

7. Presbyters restored returning Penitents to the Church's Peace. Thus we read in an Epistle of *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, That a certain Offender called *Serapion*, ap-

α Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοί
τινὰ κάλεσον.— ἐψηλῆς ὁ
ὕπ' ἐμὴ δεδουμένῃ τοῖς
ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἔβιε
ἀφελῶ. *Ad Fabium An-*
tioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 44. p. 246.

proaching to the Time of his Dissolution, ^a sent for one of the Presbyters to absolve him, which the Presbyters did, according to the Order of his Bishop, who had before command-

ed, That the Presbyters should absolve those who were in Danger of Death.

8. Presbyters confirmed, as we shall most evidently prove, when we come to treat of Confirmation: Only remark here by the Way, That in the Days of *Cyprian*, there was a hot Controversie, Whether those that were baptized by Hereticks, and came over to the Catholic Church, should be received as Members thereof by Baptism and Confirmation, or by Confirmation alone? Now I would fain know, Whether during the Vacancy of a See, or the Bishop's Absence, which sometimes might be very long, as *Cyprian* was absent two Years, a Presbyter could not admit a returning Heretick to the Peace and Unity of the Church, especially if we consider their positive Damnation of all those that died out of the Church? If the Presbyters had not had this Power of Confirmation, many penitent Souls must have been damn'd for the unavoidable Default of a Bishop,

shop, which is too cruel and unjust to imagine.

9. As for Ordination, I find but little said of this in Antiquity; yet as little as there is, there are clearer Proofs of the Presbyters Ordaining, than there are of their administering the Lord's Supper ^m

All Power and Grace, saith Firmilian, is constituted in the Church; where Seniors preside, who have the Power of Baptizing, Confirming, and Ordaining; or as it may be rendred, and perhaps more agreeable

^m Omnis potestas & gratia in Ecclesiâ constituta sit ubi præsent majoris natu, qui & baptizandi, & manum imponendi, & ordinandi possident potestatem. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. §. 6. p. 237.*

to the Sense of the Place; *Who had the Power as of Baptizing; so also of Confirming and Ordaining.* What these Seniors were, will be best understood by a parallel Place in *Tertullian*; for that Place in *Tertullian*, and this in *Firmilian*, are usually cited to expound one another; by most learned Men, as by the most learned ⁿ Dr. Cave, and others.

Now the Passage in *Tertullian* is this; In the Ecclesiastical Courts ^o

ⁿ Primitive Christianity, Part 3, cap. 5. p. 379.

approved Elders preside:

^o Probati præsent Seniores. *Apol. c. 39. p. 709.*

Now by these approved

Elders, Bishops and Presbyters, must necessarily be understood; because *Tertullian* speaks here of the Discipline exerted in one particular Church or Parish, in which there was but one Bishop; and if only he had presided, then there could not have been Elders in the plural Number; but there being many Elders to make out their Number, we must add the Presbyters to

The Bishop, who also presided with him, as we shall more fully shew in another Place. Now the same that presided in Church-Consistories, the same also ordained; Presbyters as well as Bishops presided in Church-Consistories; therefore Presbyters as well as Bishops ordained. And as in those Churches where there were Presbyters, both they and the Bishop presided together, so also they ordained together, both laying on their Hands in Ordination, as St. *Ti-*

Ἐπιπέσει ἐπιθεσέως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. 1 Tim. 4. 14.

mothy was ordained ^a by the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery; that is, by the Hands of the

Bishop and Presbyters of that Parish where he was ordained, as is the constant Signification of the Word *Presbytery*, in all the Writings of the Ancients. But,

10. Though as to every particular Act of the Bishop's Office, it could not be proved particularly, that a Presbyter did discharge them; yet it would be sufficient, if we could prove, that in the general, a Presbyter could, and did perform them all. Now that a Presbyter could do so, and consequently by the Bishop's Permission did do so, will appear from the Example of the great Saint *Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, who being exil'd from his Church, writes a Letter to the Clergy thereof; wherein he

exhorts and begs them ^b to discharge their own and his Office too, that so nothing might be wanting either to *Discipline* or *Diligence*. And much to the

^b *Fungamini illic & vestris partibus ac meis, ut nihil vel ad disciplinam, vel ad diligentiam desit. Epist. 5. §. 1. p. 15.*

the same Effect he thus writes them in another Letter, ^a *Trusting therefore to your Kindness, and Religion, which I have abundantly experienced, I exhort and command you by these Letters, that in my stead you perform those Offices which the Ecclesiastical Dispensation requires.*

And in a Letter written upon the same Occasion, by the Clergy of the Church of Rome, to the Clergy of the Church of Carthage, we find these Words towards the Beginning there-

of, ^b *And since it is incumbent upon us, who are as it were Bishops, to keep the Flock in the Room of the Pastor: If we shall be found negligent, it shall be said unto us, as it was said to our careless preceding Bishops, in Ezekiel 34. 3, 4. That we looked not after that which was lost, we did not correct him that wandered, nor bound up him that was lame, but we did eat their Milk, and were covered with their Wooll.*

So that the Presbyters were as it were Bishops, that in the Bishop's Absence kept his Flock, and in his stead performed all those Ecclesiastical Offices, which were incumbent on him.

Now then if the Presbyters could supply the
Place

^a Fretus ergo & dilectione & religione vestra, quam satis novi, his literis & hortor, & mando, ut vos— vice meâ fungamini circa gerenda ea, quæ administratio religiosa deposcit. *Epist. 6. §. 2. p. 17.*

^b Et cum incumbat nobis qui videmur præpositi esse, & vice pastoris custodire gregem, si negligentes inveniamur, dicetur nobis quod & antecessoribus nostris dictum est, qui tam negligentes præpositi erant: quoniam perditum non requisivimus, & errantem non correximus, & claudum non colligavimus, & lac eorum edebamus, & lanis eorum operiebamur. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 3. §. 1. p. 11.*

Place of an absent Bishop, and in general discharge all those Offices, to which a Bishop had been obliged, if he had been present; it naturally follows that the Presbyters could discharge every particular Act and Part thereof. If I should say, such an One has all the Senses of a Man, and yet also assert that he cannot see, I should be judged a Self-contradictor in that Assertion; for in affirming that he had all the human Senses, I also affirmed, that he saw, because Seeing is one of those Senses. For whatsoever is affirmed of an Universal, is affirmed of every one of its Particulars. So when the Fathers say, that the Presbyters performed the whole Office of the Bishop, it naturally ensues, that they confirmed, ordained, baptized, &c. because those are Particulars of that Universal.

But now from the whole we may collect a solid Argument for the Equality of Presbyters with Bishops as to Order; for if a Presbyter did all a Bishop did, what Difference was there between them? A Bishop preached, baptized and confirmed, so did a Presbyter. A Bishop excommunicated, absolved and ordained, so did a Presbyter: Whatever a Bishop did, the same did a Presbyter; the particular Acts of their Office was the same; the only Difference that was between them was in Degree; but this proves there was none at all in Order.

2. That Bishops and Presbyters were of the same Order, appears also, from that originally they had one and the same Name, each of them being indifferently called Bishops or Presbyters. Hence we read in the Sacred Writ of several

several Bishops in one particular Church, as the
^a *Bishops of Ephesus*, and
^b *Philippi*, that is, the Bi-
 shops and Presbyters of
 those Churches, as they
 were afterwards distinctly called. And *Clemens*
Romanus sometimes mentions many Bishops in
 the Church of *Corinth*, whom at other Times
 he calls by the Name of Presbyters, using those
 two Terms as synonymous Titles and Appella-
 tions, ^c *You have obeyed,*
saith he, those that were
set over you, τοῖς ἡγεμῶσι
 ὑμῶν; and, ^d *Let us revere*
those that are set over us,
 προσκυμῶμεν ἡμῶν, which are the usual Titles of
 the Bishops; and yet these in another Place he
 calls ^e *Presbyters*, descri-
 bing their Office, by ^f
their sitting, or presiding
over us. Wherefore he
 commands the *Corinthi-*
ans ^h *to be subject to their*
Presbyters, and whom in
 one Line he calls ⁱ ἐπίσ-
 κοποι, or Bishops, the second Line after he
 calls πρεσβύτεροι, or Presbyters. So *Polycarp* ex-
 horts the *Philippians* to be subject to their Pres-
 byters and Deacons, under the Name of Presby-
 ters, including both Bishops and Priests, as we
 now call them.

^a Ἐπισκόπους. 20. Acton.
 v. 28.

^b Ἐπισκόποις. 1. Phil. 1.

^c Epist. 1. ad Corinth.
 p. 2.

^d Ibidem, p. 30.

^e Πρεσβύτεροι. Ibid. p. 62.

^f Καθεσάμενων πρεσβυ-
 τέρων. Ibid. p. 69.

^h Ὑποτάγετε τοῖς πρεσ-
 βυτέροις. Ibid. p. 73.

ⁱ Ibidem. p. 58.

The first that expressed these Church-Officers
 by the distinct Terms of Bishops and Presby-
 ters, was *Ignatius*, who lived in the Beginning
 of the Second Century, appropriating the Ti-
 tle

tle of Bishop, ἐπίσκοπος, or Overseer, to that Minister who was the more immediate Overseer and Governor of his Parish; and that of πρεσβύτερος, Elder or Presbyter, to him who had no particular Care and Inspection of a Parish, but was only an Assistant or Curate to a Bishop that had; the Word ἐπίσκοπος, or Bishop, denoting a Relation to a Flock or Cure, πρεσβύτερος, or Presbyter, signifying only a Power or an Ability to take the Charge of such a Flock or Cure; the former implying an actual Discharge of the Office, the latter a Power so to do.

This Distinction of Titles arising from the Difference of their Circumstances, which we find first mentioned in *Ignatius*, was generally followed by the succeeding Fathers, who for the most Part distinguish between Bishops and Presbyters; though sometimes according to the Primitive Usage, they indifferently apply those Terms to each of those Persons.

Thus on the one Hand the Titles of Presbyters are given unto Bishops; as *Irenæus* in his Synodical Epistle, twice calls *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higynus*, *Telesphorus*, and *Xistus*, Bishops of Rome,

^a Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 14. p. 193.

^b Qui in ecclesiâ sunt Presbyteri — qui cum episcopatus successione, &c. l. 4. c. 43. p. 277.

^a πρεσβύτεροι, or Presbyters. And those ^b Bishops who derived their Succession immediately from the Apostles, he calls, the Presbyters in the Church;

and whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* in one Line calls the Bishop of a certain City not far from

^c πρεσβύτερος. Apud Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 193.

Ephesus, a few Lines after he calls ^c the Presbyter.

And

And on the other Hand, the Titles of Bishops are ascribed to Presbyters. As one of the discrete Appellations of a Bishop is Pastor; yet *Cyprian* also calls his Presbyters ^a *the Pastors of the Flock*. Another was that of President, or one set over the People: Yet *Cyprian* also calls his Presbyters ^b *Presidents, or set over the People*. The Bishops were also called Rectors or Rulers. So *Origen* calls the Presbyters ^c *the Governours of the People*. And we find both Bishops and Presbyters included under the common Name of Presidents or Prelates, by *St. Cyprian*, in this his Exhortation to *Pomponius*, ^d *And if all must observe the Divine Discipline, how much more must the Presidents and Deacons do it, who by their Conversation and Manners must yield a good Example to others?*

^a Pastores ovium. *Epist.* 11. §. 1. p. 33.

^b Præpositi. *Ibidem*.

or Rulers. So *Origen*

^c Ἀρχοὺς τῶν λαῶν. *Comment in Matth.* Vol 1. p. 245.

^d Et cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere oporteat, multò magis Præpositos & Diaconos curare hoc fas est, qui exemplum & documentum cæteris de conversatione & moribus suis præbeant. *Epist.* 62. §. 2. p. 169.

Now if the same Appellation of a Thing be a good Proof for the Identity of its Nature, then Bishops and Presbyters must be of the same Order, because they had the same Names and Titles. Suppose it was disputed, whether a Parson and Lecturer were of the same Order, would not this sufficiently prove the Affirmative? That though for some accidental Respects they might be distinguish'd in their Appellation,

pellations, yet originally and frequently they were called by one and the same Name. The same it is in this Case, though for some contingent and adventitious Reasons Bishops and Presbyters were discriminated in their Titles, yet originally they were always, and afterwards sometimes, called by one and the same Appellation; and therefore we may justly deem them to be one and the same Order.

But if this Reason be not thought cogent enough, the third and last will unquestionably put all out of doubt, and most clearly evince the Identity or Sameness of Bishops and Presbyters, as to Order; and that is, that it is expressly said by the Ancients, That there were but Two distinct Ecclesiastical Orders, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons; and if there were but these Two, Presbyters cannot be distinct from Bishops, for then there would be Three. Now that there were but Two Orders, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, is plain from that Golden Ancient Remain of *Clemens*

Romanus, wherein he thus writes, ^a *In the Country and Cities where the Apostles preached, they ordained their first Converts for Bishops and Deacons over those who should believe: Nor were these Orders new; for, for many Ages past it was thus prophesied concerning Bishops and Deacons, I will appoint their Bishops in Righteousness,*

^a Κατὰ χώρας ἐν ἡ πό-
λεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον
τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰς
ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἢ
μελλόντων πισδεῖν καὶ τὸ
καὶ κρινῶς, ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολ-
λῶν χρόνων ἐγένετο ὁ
πρὸς ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόν-
ων, ἕτως γὰρ πᾶ λέγει
ἡ γραφή, καθίστησω τὰς
ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δι-
καιοσύνη καὶ τὰς διακόνους
αὐτῶν ἐν πίσει. *Epist. 1.*
ad Corinth. p. 54.

teousness, and their Deacons in Faith. This Place of Scripture which is here quoted, is in *Isa.* 60. 17. *I will make thine Officers Peace, and thine Exactors Righteousness.* Whether it is rightly apply'd, is not my Business to determine. That that I observe from hence is, That there were but two Orders instituted by the Apostles, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, which *Clemens* supposes were prophetically promised long before: And this is yet more evidently asserted in another Passage of the said *Clemens* a little after, where he says, that the ^a Apo-

stles foreknew through our Lord Jesus Christ, that Contention would arise about the Name of Episcopacy, and therefore being endued with a perfect Foreknowledge, appointed the aforesaid Officers, *viz.* Bishops and Deacons, and left the Manner of their Succession described, that

so when they died, other approved Men might succeed them, and perform their Office. So that there were only the Two Orders of Bishops and Deacons instituted by the Apostles. And if they ordained but these Two, I think no One had ever a Commission to add a Third, or to split One into Two, as must be done, if we separate the Order of Presbyters from the Order of Bishops: But that when the Apostles appointed the Order of Bishops, Presbyters were included therein, will manifestly appear from the Induction of those fore-cited Passages in

^a Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τὸ κλεῖε ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔεις ἔσαι ἐπὶ τῆς ὀνόματι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ ταύτων ἐν τῷ ἀλίαν πρὸς γνῶσιν εἰρηφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τὸ πρῶτον ἱερωσύνης, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐπινομήν δεδωκάσιν, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξων ἄλλοι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. *Ibidem.* p. 57.

Clemens's Epistle, and his Drift and Design thereby, which was to appease and calm the Schisms and Factions of some unruly Members in the Church of *Corinth*, who designed to depose their Presbyters; and that he might dissuade them from this violent and irregular Action, amongst other Arguments he proposes to them, that this was to thwart the Design and Will of GOD, who would that all should live orderly in their respective Places, doing the Duties of their own Stations, not invading the Offices and Functions of others; and that for this End, that all Occasions of Disorderliness and Confusion might be prevented, he had instituted Diversity of Offices in his Church, appointing every Man to his particular Work, to which he was to apply himself, without violently leaping into other Mens Places; and that particularly the Apostles foreseeing through the Holy Spirit, that contentious and unruly Men would irregularly aspire to the Episcopal Office, by the Deposition of their lawful Presbyters; therefore that such turbulent Spirits might be repressed, or left inexcusable, they ordained Bishops and Deacons where they preached, and described the manner and qualifications of their Successors, who should come after them when they were dead and gone, and be revered and obeyed with the same Respect and Obedience as they before were; and that therefore they were to be condemned as Perverters of the Divine Institution, and Contemners of the Apostolick Authority, who dared to degrade their Presbyters, who had receiv'd their Episcopal Authority in an immediate Succession from those
who

who were advanced to that Dignity by the Apostles themselves.

This was the true Reason for which the fore-quoted Passages were spoken, which clearly evinces, that Presbyters were included under the Title of Bishops, or rather that they were Bishops: For to what End should *Clemens* exhort the schismatical *Corinthians* to obey their Presbyters, from the Consideration of the Apostles Ordination of Bishops, if their Presbyters had not been Bishops?

But that the Order of Presbyters, was the same with the Order of Bishops, wil appear also from that Place of *Irenæus*, where he exhorts us, ^a to withdraw from those Presbyters, who serve their Lusts, and having not the Fear of God in their Hearts, contemn others, and are lifted up with the Dignity of their first Session; but to adhere to those who keep the Doctrine of the Apostles, and with their Presbyterial Order are inoffensive, and exemplary in sound Doctrine, and an holy Conversation, to the Information and Correction of others; for such Presbyters the Church educates, and of whom the Prophet saith, I will give thee Princes in Peace, and Bishops in Righteousness.

^a Presbyteri qui serviunt suis voluptatibus & non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis, sed contumeliis agunt reliquos, & principalis confessionis timore elati sunt—ab omnibus igitur talibus absterere oportet, adhærere vero his, qui & Apostolorum, sicut prædiximus, doctrinam custodiunt, & cum Presbyterii Ordine Sermonem sanum, & Conversationem sine offensâ præstant, ad informationem & correctionem reliquorum—Tales Presbyteros nutrit Ecclesia, de quibus & Propheta ait, Et dabo principes tuos in pace, & Episcopos tuos in Justitia. *Lib. 4. c. 44. p. 278.*

Now that by these Presbyters, Bishops are meant, I need not take much pains to prove; the precedent Chapter positively asserts it; the Description of them in this Quotation, by their enjoying the Dignity of the first Session, and the Application of that Text of *Isaiah* unto them, clearly evinces it. No one can deny but that they were Bishops, that is, that they were superior in Degree to other Presbyters; or, as *Irenæus* styles it, honoured with the first Session; but yet he also says, that they were not different in Order, being of the Presbyterial Order, which includes both Bishops and Presbyters.

To this Testimony of *Irenæus* I shall subjoyn that of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who tho' he mentions ^a the Processes of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, from which some conclude the Bishops Superiority of Order; yet the subsequent Words evidently declare, that it must be meant only of Degree, and that as to Order they were one and the same; for he immediately adds, *That those Offices are an Imitation of the Angelick Glory, and of that Dispensation, which, as the Scriptures say, they wait for, who treading in the Steps of the Apostles, live in the Perfection of Evangelical Righteousness; for these, the Apostle writes,*

^a Ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ ἐπισκοπὰ καὶ τῶ ἐκκλησίαν πρεσκοπαὶ ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, μιμήματα ὄντα ἀγγελικῆς δόξης, κακείνης ἡ οἰκονομίας τυγχάνουσιν ἢ ἀναμύθεν φασὶν αἱ γραφαὶ τὰ κατ' ἰχνησθεῖς ἀποστόλων ἐν τελείῳ δικαιοσύνης καὶ πνευματικῶν βεβαιωκότας, ἐν νεφέλαις τέρας ἀρδέντας γράφει δὲ ἀπόστολος διακονήσαι καὶ πρῶτα, ἕπειτα ἐγκαταταγῆναι τῶ πρεσβυτεῖῳ καὶ πρεσκοπῆν δόξης, δόξα γὰρ δόξης διασέρει ἄχεις ἂν εἰς τέλειον ἄνδρα αυξήσωσιν. Strom. lib. 64. p. 401.

the Processes of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, from which some conclude the Bishops Superiority of Order; yet the subsequent Words evidently declare, that it must be meant only of Degree, and that as to Order they were one and the same; for he immediately adds, That those Offices are an Imitation of the Angelick Glory, and of that Dispensation, which, as the Scriptures say, they wait for, who treading in

the Steps of the Apostles, live in the Perfection of Evangelical Righteousness; for these, the Apostle writes,

writes,

writes, shall be took up into the Clouds, (Here he alludes to the Manner of the Saints Glorification in 1 Thess. 4. 17. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord.) and there first as Deacons attend, and then according to the Process, or next Station of Glory, be admitted into the Presbytery; for Glory differs from Glory, till they increase to a perfect Man. Now in this Passage there are two Things which manifest, that there were but two Ecclesiastical Orders, viz. Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons; the first is, that he says, that those Orders were resembled by the Angelick Orders. Now the Scripture mentions but two Orders of Angels, viz. Archangels and Angels, the Archangels presiding over the Angels, and the Angels obeying and attending on the Archangels. According to this Resemblance therefore there must be but two Ecclesiastical Orders in the Church, which are Bishops or Presbyters presiding and governing, with the Deacons attending and obeying. The other Part of this Passage, which proves but two Ecclesiastical Orders, is his likening of them to the progressive Glory of the Saints, who at the Judgment Day shall be caught up in the Clouds, and there shall first as Deacons attend and wait on Christ's Judgment-Seat, and then, when the Judgment is over, shall have their Glory perfected, in being placed on the celestial Thrones of that Sublime Presbytery, where they shall for ever be blest and happy.

So that there were only the two Orders of Deacons and Presbyters, the former whereof being the inferiour Order, never sat at their Ecclesiastical Conventions, but like Servants

^a Videt & ordinationes, five stationes ministrorum ejus, Diaconorum, ut mihi videtur, ordinem memorat astantium divino ministerio. *Homil. 2. in Cantic. Cantic. Origen.*

^b Nobiscum sedeat in Clero. *Cyprian. Epist. 35. p. 84.*

Minister of the Parish, sat at the Head of the Semicircle, on a Seat somewhat elevated

^c Collegis meis. *Epist. 28. §. 2. p. 64.*

above those of his ^c Colleagues, as *Cyprian* calls them, and so was distinguished from them by his Priority in the same Order, but not by his being of another Order. Thus the aforesaid *Clemens Alexandrinus* distinguishes the Bishop from the Presbyters, by his being advanced to the *πρῶτον καθέδρα*, or the first Seat in the Presbytery, not by his sitting in a different Seat from them: For thus he writes,

^a Οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερος ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων ἐκκλησίας, καὶ διακόνος ἀληθῆς τῆς Θεῆς βελύσεως, εἰὰν ποιῇ καὶ διδάσκη τὰς κείων ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων χειροτονημένος, εἰδὲ ὅτι πρεσβύτερος, δίκαιος νομιζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι δίκαιος ἐν πρεσβυτερίῳ καταλεγομένος, κἂν ἐν ταύτῃ ἐπιγῆς πρῶτον καθέδρα μὴ τιμηθῆ, ἐν τοῖς ἕκκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσι καθέδραις θρόνοις τῶν λαῶν κείων, ὡς φησὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης. *Stromat. lib. 6. p. 40c.*

^a stood and waited on the latter, who ^b sat down on *θρόνοις*, or Seats in the Form of a Semicircle, whence they are frequently called *Confessus Presbyterii*, or the Session of the Presbytery, in which Session he that was more peculiarly the Bishop or

Minister of the Parish, sat at the Head of the Semicircle, on a Seat somewhat elevated above those of his ^c Colleagues, as *Cyprian* calls them, and so was distinguished from them by his Priority in the same Order.

^a He is in truth a Presbyter of the Church, and a Minister of the Will of

God, who does and teaches the Things of the Lord, not ordained by Men, or esteemed just, because a Presbyter, but because just, therefore received into the Presbytery, who although he be not honoured with the first Seat on Earth, yet shall hereafter sit down on the Twenty and Four Thrones, mentioned in the Revelations, judging the People. So that both Bishops and Presbyters were Members of the same Presbytery, only the Bishop was advanced to the first and chiefest Seat therein, which is the very same with what I come now from proving, viz. That Bishops and Presbyters were equal in Order, but different in Degree; That the former were the Ministers of their respective Parishes, and the latter their Curates or Assistants.

Whether this hath been fully proved, or whether the precedent Quotations do naturally conclude the Premises, the learned Reader will easily determine. I am not conscious that I have stretched any Words beyond their natural Signification, having deduced from them nothing but what they fairly imported: If I am mistaken, I hope I shall be pardoned, since I did it not designedly or voluntarily. As before, so now I profess again, that if any one shall be so kind and obliging to give me better Information, I shall thankfully and willingly acknowledge and quit mine Error; but till that Information be given, and the Falsity of my present Opinion be evinc'd, (which after the impartial-est and narrowest Enquiry, I see not how it can be done) I hope no one will be offended, that I have asserted the Equality or Identity of the

Bishops and Presbyters as to Order, and their Difference as to Pre-eminency or Degree.

§. 4. Now from this Notion of Presbyters, there evidently results the Reason why there were many of them in one Church, even for the same Intent and End, tho' more necessary and needful, that Curates are now to those Ministers and Incumbents whom they serve; it was found by Experience, that Variety of Accidents and Circumstances did frequently occur both in Times of Peace and Persecution; the Particulars whereof would be needless to enumerate, that disabled the Bishops from attending on, and discharging their Pastoral Office; therefore that such Vacancies might be supplied, and such Inconveniencies remedied, they entertained Presbyters or Curates, who during their Absence might supply their Places, who also were helpful to them, whilst they were present with their Flocks, to counsel and advise them; whence Bishop *Cyprian* assures us,

^b *Communi Consilio.*
Epist. 24. p. 55.

that he did all Things by the ^b *Common Council* of his Presbyters.

Besides this, in those early Days of Christianity, Churches were in most Places thin, and at a great Distance from one another; so that if a Bishop by any Disaster was incapacitated for the Discharge of his Function, it would be very difficult to get a neighbouring Bishop to assist him. To which we may also add, that in those Times there were no publick Schools or Universities, except we say the Catechetick Lecture at *Alexandria*, was one for the Breeding of young Ministers, who might succeed the Bishops as they

they died; wherefore the Bishops of every Church took care to instruct and elevate some young Men, who might be prepared to come in their Place when they were dead and gone. And thus for these and the like Reasons most Churches were furnished with a competent Number of Presbyters, who help'd the Bishops while living, and were fit to succeed them when dead.

§. 5. I say only, most Churches were furnished with Presbyters, because all were not, especially those Churches which were newly planted, where either the Numbers or Abilities of the Believers were small and inconsiderable: Neither indeed were Presbyters essential to the Constitution of a Church; a Church might be without them, as well as a Parish can be without a Curate now; it was sufficient that they had a Bishop; a Presbyter was only necessary for the easing of the Bishops in his Office, and to be qualified for the succeeding him in his Place and Dignity after his Death.

For as *Tertullian* writes,

* *Where there are no Presbyters, the Bishop alone administers the Two Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism.*

* *Ubi Ecclesiastici Ordinis non est confessus, & offert, & tingit Sacerdos, qui est ibi solus. Exhort. ad Castitat. p. 457.*

§. 6. As for the Time when Presbyters began, to me it seems plain, that their Office was even in the Apostolick Age, tho' by their Names they were not distinguished from Bishops till some time after. The first Author now extant, who distinctly mentions Bishops and Presbyters, is *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who lived in the

Beginning of the second Century: But without doubt before his Time, even in the Days of the Apostles, where Churches increased, or were somewhat large, there were more in Holy Orders than the Bishops of those Churches. We read in the New Testament of the Bishops of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. 28. and *Philippi*, *Philip.* 1. 1. which must be understood of what was afterwards distinctly called Bishops and Presbyters. So likewise we read in *St. Timothy*, *1 Tim.* 4. 14. of a Presbytery, which in all the Writings of the Fathers, for any Thing I can find to the contrary, perpetually signifies the Bishop and Presbyters of a particular Church or Parish. And to this we may add what *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports of *St. John*, That he went into the

* Ὅπερ μὲν ἐπισκόπους κα-
ταστήσων, ὅπερ δὲ ὅλας ἐκ-
κλησίας ἀρμώσων, ὅπερ δὲ
κλήρω ἑναγὲ τινὰ κληρώ-
σων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶ πνεύματι
σημαινομένων. Apud Eu-
feb. lib. 3. cap. 23. p.
92.

neighbouring Provinces
of *Ephesus*, * Partly that
he might constitute Bishops;
partly that he might plant
new Churches, and partly
that he might appoint such
in the Number of the Cler-
gy as should be command-
ed him by the Holy Ghost.

Where by the Word Clergy, being oppos'd to Bishops, and so consequently different from them, must be understood either Deacons alone, or which is far more probable, Presbyters and Deacons.

C H A P. V.

§. 1. *The Order and Office of the Deacons.* §. 2. *Subdeacons what.* §. 3. *Of Acolyths, Exorcists, and Lectors; thro' those Offices the Bishops gradually ascended to their Episcopal Dignity.* §. 4. *Of Ordination. First, of Deacons.* §. 5. *Next, of Presbyters; the Candidates for that Office presented themselves to the Presbytery of the Parish where they were ordained.* §. 6. *By them examined about Four Qualifications, viz. Their Age.* §. 7. *Their Condition in the World.* §. 8. *Their Conversation.* §. 9. *And their Understanding. Human Learning needful.* §. 10. *Some Inveighed against Human Learning, but condemned by Clemens Alexandrinus.* §. 11. *Those that were to be ordained Presbyters, generally pass'd thro' the Inferiour Offices.* §. 12. *When to be ordained, propounded to the People for their Attestation.* §. 13. *Ordained in; but not to a particular Church.* §. 14. *Ordained by the Imposition of Hands of the Presbytery.* §. 15. *The Conclusion of the first Particular, concerning the Peculiar Acts of the Clergy.*

§. 1. **N**EXT to the Presbyters were the Deacons, concerning whose Office and Order I shall say very little, since there is no great Controversy about it; and had it not been so have rendred this Discourse compleat and entire, I should in Silence have pass'd it over. Briefly therefore, their original Institution, as in *Acts* 6. 2. was to serve Tables, which inclu-

included these two Things, A looking after the Poor, and an Attendance at the Lord's Table. As for the Care of the Poor, *Origen* tells us,

^a Διάκονοι διοικῶντες τὰ
 ἱερῆς ἐκκλησίας χρήματα.
 Comment. in Mat. Tom.
 16. p. 443. Vol. 1.

that the ^a *Deacons* dispensed to them the Church's Money, being employed under the Bishop to inspect and relieve all the

Indigent within their Diocese: As for their Attendance at the Lord's Table, their Office with respect to that, consisted in preparing the Bread and Wine, in cleansing the Sacramental Cups, and other such like necessary Things; whence

^b Βρωμάτων ἢ ποτῶν εἰσιν
 διάκονοι. Epist. ad Tral-
 les. p. 48.

they are called by *Ignatius* ^b *Deacons of Meats and Cups*, assisting also, in some Places at least, the

Bishop or Presbyters in the Celebration of the Eucharist, ^c *delivering the*

^c Διάκονοι διδόντες ἐκάστῳ
 τῶν παρόντων μετέλαβεν
 ἐπὶ τῷ ὄργανῳ τοῦ
 ἁγίου καὶ ὄνου. Just. Martyr.
 Apolog. 2. p. 97.

Elements to the Communicants. They also preached, of which more in another Place; and in the ^d *Absence of the Bishop and Presbyters* baptized.

^d Baptismum dandi ha-
 bet jus Episcopus dehinc
 Presbyteri & Diaconi.
 Tertul. de Bapt. p. 602.

In a word according to the Signification of their Name, they were as *Ignatius* calls them, ^a *the Churches Servants*, set apart on purpose to serve

^e Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρε-
 ται. Epist. ad Tralles.
 p. 48.

God, and attend on their Business, being constituted, as *Eusebius* terms

^f Ὑπερησίας τῷ κοινῷ.
 Lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 38.

it, ^e *for the Service of the Publick.*

§. 2. Next to the Deacons were the Subdeacons, who are mentioned both by ^b *Cyprian* and ^c *Cornelius*. As the Office of the Presbyters was to assist and help the Bishops, so theirs was to assist and help the Deacons. And as the Presbyters were of the same Order with the Bishop, so probably the Subdeacons were of the same Order with the Deacons, which may be gathered from what we may suppose to have been the Origin and Rise of these Subdeacons, which might be this, That in no Church whatsoever, was it usual to have more than Seven Deacons, because that was the original Number instituted by the Apostles; wherefore when any Church grew so great and numerous, that this stinted Number of Deacons was not sufficient to discharge their necessary Ministrations, that they might not seem to swerve from the Apostolical Example, they added Assistants to the Deacons, whom they called Sub-deacons or Under-deacons, who were employed by the Head or chief Deacons, to do those Services in their Stead and Room, to which, by their Office, they were obliged. But whether this be a sufficient Argument to prove Sub-deacons to be of the same Order with the Deacons, I shall not determine, because this Office being now antiquated, it is not very pertinent to my Design, I only offer it to the Consideration of the Learned, who have Will and Ability to search into it.

^a Hypodiatonum Optatum. *Epist.* 24. p. 55.

^b Ὑποδιακόνους ἐπίδ. Apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 244.

§. 3. Besides those forementioned Orders, who were immediately consecrated to the Service of God, and by him commission'd thereunto, there were

were another Sort of Ecclesiasticks, who were employed about the meaner Offices of the Church, such as ^a *Acolyths*, ^b *Exorcists* and ^c *Lectors*, whose Offices, because they are now disused, except that of the Lector, I shall pass over in silence, reserving

a Discourse of the Lector for another Place; only in general, these were Candidates for the Ministry, who by the due Discharge of these meaner Employments, were to give Proof of their Ability and Integrity, the Bishops in those Days not usually arriving *per Saltum* to that Dignity and Honour; but commonly beginning with the most inferiour Office, and so gradually proceeding thro' the others, till they came to the supreme Office of all, as *Cornelius* Bishop of

^d Non iste ad Episcopatum subito pervenit, per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus — ad Sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis Religionis gradibus ascendit. *Cypr. Epist. 52. §. 4. p. 115.*

Rome, did not presently leap into the Episcopal Throne, but first passed thro' all the Ecclesiastical Offices, gradually ascending to that sublime Dignity.

The Church in those happy Days, by such a long Tryal and Experience, using all possible Precaution and Exactness, that none but fit and qualify'd Men should be admitted into those Sacred Functions and Orders, which were attended with so dreadful and tremendous a Charge. And this now brings me in the next Place, to enquire into the Manner and Form of the Primitive Ordinations, which I chuse to discourse of

in this Place, since I shall find none more proper for it throughout this whole Treatise.

§. 4. As for the various Senses and Acceptations which may be put on the Word *Ordination*, I shall not at all meddle with them; that Ordination that I shall speak of is this, the Grant of a peculiar Commission and Power, which remains indelible in the Person to whom it is committed, and can never be obliterated or rased out, except the Person himself cause it by his Heresie, Apostacy, or most extreamly gross and scandalous Impiety. Now this Sort of Ordination was conferred only upon Deacons and Presbyters, or on Deacons and Bishops, Presbyters and Bishops being here to be consider'd as all one, as Ministers of the Church-Universal. As for the Ordination of Deacons, there is no great Dispute about that, so I shall say no more concerning it, than that we have the Manner thereof at their first Institution in *Acts 6. 6.* which was, that they were ordained to their Office by Prayer and Imposition of Hands.

§. 5. But as for the Ordination of Presbyters, I shall more distinctly and largely treat of the Manner and Form thereof, which seems to be as follows.

Whosoever desired to be admitted into this sacred Office, he first propos'd himself to the Presbytery of the Parish where he dwelled and was to be ordained, desiring their Consent to his designed Intention, praying them to confer upon him those Holy Orders which he craved. Now we may suppose his Petition was to the whole Presbytery, because a Bishop alone could not give those Holy Orders, as is most evident
from

^a Communi Consilio omnium nostrum. *Epist.* 24. p. 55.

Council of the whole Presbytery. And therefore

^b Necessè fuit — necessitate urgente promotum est. *Ibidem.*

without the Advice and Consent of his Presbytery, which one will be apt to think was no great Usurpation, he takes great Pains (*Ep.* 24. p. 55.) to justify and excuse himself for so doing.

§. 6. Upon this Application of the Candidate for the Ministry, the Presbytery took it into their Consideration, debated his Petition

^c Communi Consilio. *Epist.* 24. *apud* Cypr. p. 55.

Qualifications which were requisite for that Sacred Office. What those Gifts and Qualifications were, touching which he was examined, may be reduced to these Four Heads, his Age, his Condition in the World, his Conversation, and his Understanding.

As for his Age; It was necessary for him to have lived some Time in the World, to have been of a ripe and mature Age; for they ordained no Novices, or young Striplings: That was the Practice of the Hereticks, whom *Tertullian* jeers and upbraids with Ordaining

^d Nunc Neophytos conlocant. *De præscript. adv. Heret.* p. 89.

^e *in their Common Council,* and proceeded to examine whether he had those Endowments and Qualifications which were requisite for that Sacred Office. What those Gifts and Qualifications were, touching which he was examined, may be reduced to these Four Heads, his Age, his Condition in the World, his Conversation, and his Understanding. As for his Age; It was necessary for him to have lived some Time in the World, to have been of a ripe and mature Age; for they ordained no Novices, or young Striplings: That was the Practice of the Hereticks, whom *Tertullian* jeers and upbraids with Ordaining

from *Cyprian*, who assures us, That ^a *all Clerical Ordinations were performed by the Common Council of the whole Presbytery.* And therefore when upon a ^b *most urgent and necessary Occasion* he had been forced to ordain one but a Lecter,

^c *in their Common Council,* and proceeded to examine whether he had those Endowments and

^d *raw and unexperienc'd Clerks.* But as for the Orthodox, they took care

to confer Orders on none, but on such as were well stricken in Years; observing herein the Apostolick Canon in 1 *Tim.* 3. 6. *Not a Novice, lest being lifted up with Pride, he fall into the Condemnation of the Devil.* But yet if any Young Man was endued with extraordinary Grace and Ability, the Fewness of his Years was no Obstacle to his Promotion, that being superseded by the Greatness of his Merit; as we find in the Case of *Aurelius* in *Cyprian*, who

tho' * *young in Years*, yet for his eminent Courage and † Excellency, was graced with Ecclesiastical Orders: And such an one, I suppose, was the Bishop of *Magnesia* in the Times of *Ignatius*, which gave occasion to that Exhortation, to the People of that Diocese, || *not to despise their Bishop's Age, but to yield him all due Respect and Reverence.*

§. 7. As for his Condition in the World; he was not to be entangled with any mundane Affairs, but to be free from all secular Employments, and at perfect Liberty to apply himself wholly to the Duties of his Office and Function. This also was founded on that other Apostolick Canon in 2 *Tim.* 2. 4.

† *No Man that warreth entangleth himself with the Affairs of this Life, that he may please him who*

* In annis adhuc novellus. *Cypr Epist.* 33. p 76.
† Merebatur — Clericæ Ordinationis — gradus & incrementa — non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus. *Ibidem.*

|| Μὴ συγχεῶδες τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀλλὰ — πᾶσι ἐβροπὴν αὐτῷ ἐπένειμεν. *Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes.* p. 31.

† Nemo militans Deo obligat se molestiis secularibus, ut possit placere ei cui se probavit. Quod cum de omnibus habet

dictum sit, quantò magis molestiis & laqueis sæcularibus obligari non debent, qui divinis rebus & spiritualibus occupati, ab Ecclesia recedere, & ad terrenos & sæculares actus vacare non possunt, cujus ordinationis & religionis formam Levitæ prius in lege tenuerunt, ut cum terram dividerent, & possessiones partirentur undecim Tribus, Levitica Tribus, quæ Templo & Altari, & Ministeriis Divinis vacabat, nihil de illa divisionis portione perciperet, sed aliis terram colentibus, illa tantum Deum coleret, & ad victum atque alimentum suum ab undecim Tribubus de fructibus qui nascebantur, decimas reciperet. Quod totum fiebat de auctoritate & dispositione divina, ut qui operationibus divinis insistebant, in nullâ re avocarentur, nec cogitare aut agere sæcularia cogerentur. Quæ nunc ratio & forma in Clero tenetur, ut qui in Ecclesia Domini Ordinatione Clerica promoventur, in nullo ab administratione Divina avocentur, nec molestiis & negotiis sæcularibus alligentur, sed in honore

hath chosen him to be a Soldier. Which Words, saith Cyprian, if spoken of all, How much more ought not they to be entangled with Secular Troubles and Snares, who being busied in Divine and Spiritual Things, cannot leave the Church, to mind earthly and worldly Actions? Which Religious Ordination, as he goes on to write, was emblematic'd by the Levites under the Law; for when the Land was divided, and Possessions were given to Eleven Tribes, the Levites who waited upon the Temple and Altar, and the sacred Offices thereof, had no Share in that Division; but the others till'd the Ground, whilst they only worshipp'd God, and received Tenths of the others Increase for their Food and Sustenance; all which happen'd by the Divine Authority and Dispensation, that they who waited on Divine Imployments, should not be withdrawn therefrom, or be forced either to think
of,

of, or to do any Secular Affairs: Which Fashion, as he there continues to write, is now observed by the Clergy, that those who are promoted to Clerical Ordinations, should not be impeded in their Divine Administrations; or incumbred with secular Concerns and Affairs; but as Tenths; receiving Subscriptions from the Brethren, depart not from the Altar and Sacrifices, but Night and Day attend on Spirituul and Heavenly Meditations. These Words were spoken on the Occasion of a certain Bishop called *Germinius Victor*, who at his Death made a certain *Presbyter*, called *Germinius Faustinus* Trustee of his last Will and Testament, which Trust void and null, * Because a Synod had before decreed, that no Clergyman should be a Trustee, for this Reason, because those who were in Holy Orders ought only to attend upon the Altar and its Sacrifices, and to give themselves wholly to Prayer and Supplication. It was a Blot in the Hereticks Ordinations, that they † Ordained such as were involved in the World, and embarrass'd with carnal and secular Concerns.

sportulantium fratrum tanquam Decimas ex fructibus accipientes, ab Altari & Sacrificiis non recedant, sed die ac nocte Cœlestibus rebus & Spiritualibus seruiant. Epist. 66. §. 1. 2. p. 195.

Cyprian condemns as

* Cum jampridem in Consilio Episcoporum statutum sit, ne quis de Clericis & Dei Ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat, quando singuli Divino Sacerdotio honorati, & in Clerico Ministerio constituti, non nisi Altare & Sacrificiis deservire, & precibus atque orationibus vacare debeant. *Idem Ibidem.*

† Nunc Sæculo obstrictos concolant. *Tertul. de Præscript. adv. Hæres. p. 89.*

§. 8. As for the Conversation of the Party

* *Humiles & mites. Cyprian. Epist. 38. §. 1. p. 90.*

† *In Ordinationibus Sacerdotum non nisi immaculatos & integros antistites eligere debemus, qui sanctè & dignè Sacrificia Deo offerentes, audiri in precibus possint, quas faciunt pro Plebis Dominicæ incolumitate, cum scriptum sit, Deus peccatorem non audit, sed si quis Deum coluerit, & voluntatem ejus fecerit, illum audit. Epist. 68. §. 2. p. 201.*

to be ordained, he was to be * *humble and meek*, of an unspotted and exemplary Life. So says *Cyprian*, † *In all Ordinations we ought to choose Men of an unspotted Integrity, who worthily and holily offering up Sacrifices to God, may be heard in those Prayers which they make for the Safety of their Flock: For it is written, God heareth not a Sinner; but if any One be a Worshipper of Him, and doth his Will, him he hear-*

eth. Wherefore before they were ordained, they were proposed to the People for their Testimony and Attestation of their holy Life and Conversation: But of this we shall speak more in another Place: Only it may not be improper to remember here, that this is also an Apostolick Canon, in *1 Tim. 3. 2, 3, 7.* *A Bishop then must be blameless, the Husband of one Wife, vigilant, sober, of good Behaviour, given to Hospitality; apt to teach, not given to Wine, no Striker, not greedy of filthy Lucre, but patient, not a Brawler, not covetous. Moreover he must have a good Report of them which are without, lest he fall into Reproach, and the Snare of the Devil.*

§. 9. As for the Understanding of the Person to be ordained, he was to be of a good Capacity, fit and able duly to Teach others. This is also

also another of the Apostolick Canons in 2 Tim. 2. 15. Study to shew thy self approved unto God, a Workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth. And in 1 Tim. 3. 2. A Bishop must be apt to teach, which implies an Ability of teaching, and a Capacity of rightly understanding, apprehending, and applying the Word of God; to which End Humane Learning was so conducive, as that Origen pleads not only for its Usefulness, but also for its Necessity, especially for that Part of it, which we call Logick, to find out the true Sense and Meaning of the Scripture, as appears from this following Digression, which he makes concerning it, in one of his Commentaries, ^a How is it possible, saith he, that a Question either in Ethicks, Physicks, or Divinity, should be understood, as it ought, without Logick? You shall hear no Absurdity from those who are skill'd in Logick, and diligently search out the Signification of Words; whereas many times, thro' our Ignorance in Logick, we greatly erre, not distinguishing Homonymies, Amphibolies, the different Usages, Properties and Distinction of Words, as some from the Ignorance of the Homonymy of the Word

^a Ἐι δύναθ' ἠθικὸν περὶ-
 ελιμα, ἢ φυσιολογέμενον,
 ἢ θεολογέμενον χῶρις ἀκει-
 βεῖθ' σημανομένων καὶ τῆ
 κτ' ἢ λογικὸν τόπων τετα-
 νημένων ὃν δεῖ τεταπὸν πα-
 εῖσαθῶ. τί γὰρ ἀτοπὸν ἀκα-
 εῖν τῆ κυριοκλήρουμένων, ἐν
 ταῖς διαλέκτοις καὶ ἐφι-
 σάνειν ἐπιμελῶς τοῖς ση-
 μαινομένοις, ὅτι γὰρ ὅπως
 παρὰ τὴν ἀνοίαν τῆ λογι-
 κῶν μετὰ λως περὶ πλομῶ
 μὴ καθάεθῶτες τὰς ἁμονυ-
 μίας καὶ ἀμφιβολίας, καὶ κα-
 λαχρήσεις, καὶ κυριολεξίας
 καὶ διασολὰς ὅιον παρὰ τὸ
 ἀνοεῖσθαι τῆ ὁμώνυμον τῆ
 κόσμου περὶ σιφοῖας φωνῆν,
 ἐν περὶ πλομῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσε-
 βεῖσαθῶ φρενεῖν περὶ τῆ δι-
 μιμνῶ, οἱ μὴ καθάεθῶ νῆες
 ἐπὶ τίνων καὶ τὸ, ὃ κέσ-
 μθ' ἐν ᾧ ποτηρῶ καὶ,

ὅτι ἀντὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν κτισμάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων τῆς ἕως ἐκείνης ἰωάννη εἶρη, διηθένητες γὰρ κόσμον κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν λέξιν σημαίνουσαν τὸ σύστημα τὸ ἐξ ἕραν καὶ γῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοσύτατα καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα ὑποφάνον, ὡς Θεὸς μηδ' αὐτῶς ἐργῶ δεικνύσαι δυνάμενοι πῶς ἡλιοῦ καὶ σεληνῆ καὶ ἀστέρων τὰ ἕως τελευτήματα κινήματα καὶ ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ εἰς ταῦτα ἐὰν περσάσωμεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἕως ὅτι οὐκ αἰνός τῆς Θεοῦ ὁ αἶρων τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τῆς κόσμου — πάλιν τε Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ ὅτι κατ' ἡμᾶς τὰς θείων μὴ σφάλλασαι ὡς τὴν αἰλήθειαν ἐν τῷ νοεῖν τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἀνασκαυότατα ὅτι τὰ πίπτοντα εἰς πλὴν χρῆσιν εἶδεναι λογικὰ. Tom. 1. Comm. in Genes. p. 16, 17. Vol. 1.

World, have fell into wicked Opinions touching its Maker, not discerning what that signifies in 1 John 5. 19. The World lies in Wickedness; where they understanding by the World, the Frame of Heaven and Earth, and all Creatures therein, blaspheme the Creator thereof, by affirming, that the Sun, Moon and Stars, which move in so exact an Order, lie in Wickedness. So also thro' the same Ignorance they know not the true Sense of that Text in 1 John 30. This is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the Sins of the World. Neither of that in 2 Cor. 5. 19. God was in Christ reconciling the

World to himself: Wherefore if we would not err about the true Sense of the Holy Scripture, it is necessary that we understand Logick; which Art of

^a Περιρέπει καὶ ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ διαλεκτικῶν ὅπως καὶ Σολομῶν λέγοντος. Παιδεία ἢ ἀνεξέλεγκτος. Contra Celsum, lib. 6. p. 279.

^a Logick, the aforesaid Father thinks, is recommended to us by Solomon in Prov. 10. 17. He that refuseth Reproof, or Logick, as he rendreth it, erreth.

Clemens Alexandrinus also stiffly asserts the Utility of Human Learning, where he says,

^a *That it is profitable to Christianity for the clear and distinct Demonstrations of its Doctrine,* ^b *in that it helps us to the more evident Understanding of the Truth.* And in particular for Logick, he gives it high Encomiums, as that ^c *it is a Hedge to defend the Truth from being trod down by Sophisters,* that ^d *it gives us great Light duly to understand the Holy Scriptures,* that ^e *it is necessary to confute the Sophisms of Hereticks.* And in general, for all Sorts of Learning he tells us, ^f *that it keeps the Way of Life, that we be not deceived or circumvented, by those that endeavour to draw us into the Way of Sin.* So that he thinks Philosophy and the liberal Arts ^g *came down from Heaven unto Men.* But should I produce all the

^a Φιλοσοφία χρησίμη πρὸς θεοσέβειαν γινέσθαι παιδεία τις ἔσα τοῖς τῶ πῖσιν δι' ὑποδείξεως καρτερημένοις. *Strom. lib. 1. p. 207.*

^b Φιλοσοφία πρὸς κατάληψιν τ' ἀληθείας. *Ibidem, p. 233.*

^c Θεῖος γὰρ ὅτι διαλεκτικὴ ὡς μὴ καταπαίειν πρὸς τ' σοφιστῶν τῶ ἀληθείαν. *Stromat. lib. 6. p. 472.*

^d Ταῖς γεγραφαῖς αὐταῖς μέγα ὡς ἐτίθηται ταῖς ψυχῆς. *Ibidem.*

^e Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπίπτειν ταῖς κατατρεχέσαις αἰρέσεσιν. *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 234.*

^f Ὅθεν ἡ ζωὴς φυλάσσει παιδεία ὡς μὴ ἀπαληθῆναι ὡς μὴ κλαπῆναι πρὸς τ' ἐπιβλάβε τ' ἀκρωμένων κακοεχνίαν ἡσκηκόντων. *Ibid. p. 210.*

^g Θεοφθὸν ἦκειν εἰς ἀνθρώπων. *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 210.*

Passages in this Father, concerning the Utility and Excellency of Human Learning, I must transcribe several Pages in *Folio*, which if the Reader has a Curiosity to view, he may especially

cially take Notice of these Places, *Stromat. lib. 1. pag. 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215.* and *Stromat. lib. 6. pag. 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477.*

§. 10. It is true, there were some in those Days, of whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* com-

^a Πόλλοι ἢ καθάπερ οἱ παῖδες τὰ μορμολύκια, ἕτως δεδίασι τῷ Ἑλληνικῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ φοβέμενοι μὴ ἀπαγάγῃ αὐτῆς. *Str. lib. 6. p. 472.*

plains, ^a *who dreaded Philosophy, lest it should deceive them, as much as Children did Hobgoblins.*

Because they saw by too lamentable Experience, that many learned Mens Brains were so charmed, or intoxicated with philosophical Notions, as that they laboured to transform them into Christian Verities, and so thereby became Authors of most pestilent and damnable Heresies, which is particularly observed by *Tertullian*, with respect to the Hereticks

^b Hæreticorum Patriarchæ Philosophi. *Actu. Hermog. p. 266.*

of his Time, who in this Account calls ^b *the Philosophers, the Patriarchs of Hereticks.*

^c Οἱ ἢ καὶ πρὸς κακῶν ἀντὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἰς δεδουκέναι τὸ βίον νομίζουσιν ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τίνῃ εὐρετῶ πονηρῶ. *Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. 4. p. 204.*

Therefore they accused Philosophy it self, as ^c *the Production of some evil Inventor, introduced into the World for the Ruin and Destruction of Man-*

kind. Even *Tertullian* himself, for this Reason had an extream Pique against Philosophy, and violently decry'd it, especially Logick, as inconsistent with true Christianity, as may be seen at

large

large in his Book, *De Prescriptione adversus Hæreticos*, p. 70, 71.

But to this Objection *Clemens Alexandrinus* replies, that if any Man had been deceiv'd and misled by *Philosophy*,
^a that that proceeded not from *Philosophy*, but from the *Wickedness* of his Nature; for whosoever has *Wisdom* enough to use it; he is able thereby to make a larger and a more demonstrative Defence of the Faith than others.

And concerning *Logick* in particular, he tells them, That as for *Eristick*, jangling *Logick*, for impertinent and contentious *Sophisms*, which he elegantly calls τὰς σκιάς τῶν λόγων^b the *Shadows* of Reason; he disliked it as much as they, and frequently^c inveighs against it: But as for the solid substantial Part of it, he could not but deem it profitable and ad-

^a Μῆτε τῷ φιλοσοφίαν λυμαίνεσθαι ἢ βίον, ψευδῶν περὶ γυμνάσιον καὶ σαύλων ἔργων δημίκετον ὑπάρχει ἀπειβολὴ πλεονί χρωμάτων ἀμνηγήτη συγγραμμασιαν τινὰ πίστεως ἀποδεικτικὴν ἐμποιεῖσθαι, *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 204.*

^b *Stromat. Lib. 6. p. 500.*

^c *Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 205, 211, 212, 215. and Lib. 6. p. 472, 500.*

^d Συλλαμβάνεσθαι φιλοσοφία τῇ πρὸς τῷ ἀλήθειαν ἄρεσει. *Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 233.*

^e Ταῖς γεγραφαῖς αὐταῖς μέγα φῶς ἐρίκτει παῖς ψυχῶς. *Stromat. Lib. 6. p. 472.*

^f Ἡ διαλεκτικὴ συνεργεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπίπτειν ἢ κατὰρχεσθαι αἵρεσιν. *Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 234.*

περὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπίπτειν ἢ κατὰρχεσθαι αἵρεσιν. *Stromat. Lib. 1. p. 234.*

But besides this Sort of Objectors, there were others of whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks, who condemn'd Learning on this Account, be-

^a Ἀνθρωπίνῳ σύνεσιν,
Stromat. lib. 6. p. 476.

^b Πῶς ἐκ ἀλογον τεκτο-
νικῆς καὶ ναυπηγικῆς χεῖ-
ρῶν νομίζειν φιλοσοφίαν.
Ibidem. p. 476.

cause it was ^a *Human*, unto whom that Father answers, That ^b *was most unreasonable, that Philosophy only should be contemn-*

^c Οὐδαμῶς τέτοις ἐν δι-
αλειπλεον ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς μόνον
τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς χρήσιμον ὡς
λαβόντας τῆτο καὶ κησα-
μένους ἀπεῖναι οἴκαδε δύ-
νασθ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλο-
σοφίαν. Ibidem. p. 475.

^d Προπαιδευτικὴ ἀζει τοῖνον
ἢ φιλοσοφία προοδοποιῖσα
ἢ ὑπὸ χειρῶν τελείμενον.
Stromat. lib. 1. p. 207.

ed on this Account, and that the meanest Arts be-

sides, even those of a Smith and Shipwright, which

are as much Human, should be commended and ap-

proved; that ^c they did

not rest here and go no far-

ther, but having got what

was useful and profitable

from it, they ascended

higher unto the true Philo-

sophy, ^d making this Hu-

man Philosophy a Guide

unto, or, a Preparatory for

the true Philosophy.

These were the Senti-

ments of this learned Father touching the Uti-

lity and Excellency of Human Learning, with

respect to the Interpretation of Scripture, the

finding out and defending of the true Faith and

Doctrine, and such like Things, which were the

very Heart and Soul of the Presbyters Function

and Employ; from whence we may rationally

collect, that it was needful, amiable, and pro-

fitable in a Presbyter: I do not say that it was

absolutely necessary, for it is apparent that a

great Part of the ancient Presbyters were not

skill'd in it; but I say that it was very useful

and

and advantageous, and they prized and esteem-
ed those Presbyters, who were vers'd in it, e-
specially those of them who were Arch-Presby-
ters or Bishops, who, if possible, were to be
well read in those parts of Learning, which were
proper to confirm the Articles of Christianity,
and to confute the Enemies thereof. This is
plainly insinuated by *Origen*, when he says,

*That the Holy Scripture
exhorts us to learn Logick,
in that Place, where it is
said by Solomon, He that
refuseth Reproof, or Lo-
gick, as he understand-
eth it, erreth; and that
therefore he that instruct-
eth others, (the Greek
Word more particularly
denotes the Bishop)
ought to be able to convince Gain-sayers.*

^a Περιέπει κὶ ὁ θεὸς
λόγῳ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ διαλεκτι-
κῆν, ὅτε μὲν Σολομῶνι
λέγοντι παιδεία ἢ ἀνε-
ξέλεγκτι — ὅτι θεὸς ἔ-
πεισάμενον τὸ λόγῳ δυ-
νατὸν εἶναι τὸ ἀνιλέγον-
τας ἐλέγχειν. *Contra
Celsum, lib. 6. p. 279.*

§. II. Upon this Examination of the Candi-
dates for the Ministry; and their Approbation
by the Presbytery, the next thing that follow'd
was their being declar'd capable of their desir'd
Function, to which they were very seldom pre-
sently advanc'd, but first gave a Specimen of
their Abilities in their discharge of other inferi-
our Ecclesiastick Offices, and so proceeded by
Degrees to the Supreme Function of all, as *Cor-
nelius* Bishop of *Rome*,
^b did not presently leap in-
to his Office, but passing
thro' all the Ecclesiastical
Employments, gradually as-
cended thereunto. And as
Aurelius, a Member of

^b Non iste ad Episcopatu-
m subito pervenit, per
omnia ecclesiastica offi-
cia promotus—ad Sacer-
dotii sublime fastigium
cunctis religionis gradi-
bus ascendit. *Cypr. Epist.*
52. §. 4. p. 115.

* *Merebatur talis Clericæ Ordinationis ulteriores gradus & incrementa majora, sed interim placuit ut ab Officio lectionis incipiat. Idem Epist. 33. p. 77.*

the Church of *Carthage*,
* *began first with the lowest Office of a Lector, tho' by his extraordinary Merits he deserved those that were more sublime and honourable.*

§. 12. That this was their constant and unalterable Practice, I dare not affirm; I rather think the contrary, as I might easily prove, were it pertinent to my Design; this that follows is more certain, that whether they were gradually or presently ordained Presbyters, their Names were published or propounded to the People of that Church, where they were to be ordained, that so, if worthy of that Office, they might have the Testimony and Attestation of the People; or if unworthy and unfit, they might be

† *Ordinationes Sacerdotales non nisi sub Populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe presente vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur, & sit ordinatio justa & legitima, quæ omnium suffragio & judicio fuerit examinata.*

Cyprian. Epist. 63. §. 4. p. 201.

debarred and excluded from it, † *by which course the Crimes of the Wicked were discovered, the Virtues of the Good declared, and the Ordination became valid and legitimate, being examined by the Suffrage and Judgment of all.*

§. 13. If the People objected nothing against the Persons proposed, but approved their Fitness for that Office; the next thing that followed, was their actual Ordination in that particular Church, where they were so propounded.

not that they were only ordain'd for that particular Church, but in it they were ordained Ministers of the Church Universal, being at liberty, either to serve that Church, where they received their Orders, or, if they had a legal Call, to spend their Labours elsewhere, in other Churches, as *Origen* was a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, tho' he was ^a *ordained in Palestina, by the Bishops of Cæsarea and Jerusalem,* and ^b *Numidicus was a Presbyter of the Church of Carthage, tho' he received his Orders elsewhere.*

Hence the Presbyters of a Church were not confined to a set Number, as

the Bishop and Deacons were, but were sometimes more, sometimes less; as fit Persons for that Office presented themselves, so were they ordained, some of whom still remained in the same Church, where they received their Orders; and others went and served other Churches, every one going where the Providence of God did call him.

§. 14. But now their formal Ordination was by Imposition of Hands, usually of the Bishop and Presbyters of the Parish where they were ordained: For this there needs no other Proof than that Injunction of *St. Paul* to *Timothy*, *1 Tim. 4. 14. Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery.*

^a Καισαρείας τε καὶ ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτοῦ τεθέκασι. *Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 209.*

^b Numidicus Presbyter adscribatur Presbyterorum Carthagenensium numero. *Cyprian. Epist. 35. p. 84.*

As for Imposition of Hands, it was a Ceremony that was variously used in the Old Testament, from whence it was translated into the New, and in the Primitive Church used on sundry Occasions, to no purpose here to enumerate: One of those Actions was, Ordination of Church-Officers, wherein, I think, it was never omitted. Thus *Novatian* was ordained a Pres-

^a Καθηζιώθη ᾠ̄ πρεσβυτε-
 εις καὶ χάειν ᾠ̄ ἐπισκόπων
 ᾠ̄ ἐπιθεῖσθαι αὐτῷ χεῖρας
 εἰς πρεσβυτεῖς κλησόν.
Cornel. apud. Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 43. p. 245.

^b χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτεῖον
 αὐτῷ τεθέκασι. *Apud*
Euseb. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 209.

byter ^a by Imposition of Hands. And the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem* ^b imposed Hands on *Origen* to make him a Presbyter. The Imposition of Hands being the Completion of Ordination, or the final Act thereof;

for whosoever had past through the forementioned Examination and Attestation, and consequently to that had received the laying on of Hands, he was esteemed by all, as legally ordained, and was ever after deemed to have sufficient Power and Authority to exert and discharge the Duty and Office of the Presbytership, to which by those Actions he was advanced and promoted.

§. 15. Here now I shall conclude what I designed to write, with respect to the first Particular, concerning the peculiar Acts of the Clergy, under which I have discoursed distinctly of the Office, and Order of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, as also of several other Things relating to their Charge and Dignity. As for those other Acts of theirs, which remain to be inquired

red into, I shall not meddle with them here; for tho' they may have some Rapport or Connexion to this Head, yet they more properly and immediately respect the Third, unto which Place therefore I shall refer their Discussion and Examination.

C H A P. VI.

§. 1. *The peculiar Acts of the Laity proposed to be discoursed of. What were the Qualifications of Church-Membership.* §. 2. *The People, in some Cases, had Power to depose their Bishops.* §. 3. *The conjunct Acts of the Clergy and Laity proposed to be discoursed of. All Ecclesiastical Affairs were managed by their joint Endeavours.*

§. 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapters treated of the peculiar Acts of the Clergy, I come now in this to speak something to the peculiar Acts of the Laity, and to enquire into those Actions and Powers, which they exerted distinctly by themselves. And here it may not be amiss first of all to make an Enquiry into the Constitution of the Laity, that is, how and by what means they were at first admitted to be Members of a Church, by Virtue of which Membership they were made Partakers of all those Powers, which we shall hereafter mention.

Now

Now for Answer hereunto, in general,

^a Per Baptisma Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, & sic à baptizatis & Spiritum Sanctum consecutis ad bibendum calicem Domini pervenitur. *Cypr. Epist. 63. S. 5. p. 175.*

ous Sins; as Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, and such like; for then they were cast out of the Church, and not admitted again, till by a penitent and holy Deportment they had testified their Grief and Sorrow for their unholly and irregular Actions; for as Origen saith,

^b Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὅση δύναμις πάντα περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ἢ σύλλογον ἡμῶν. *Contra Celsum, l. 3. p. 143.*

^c Ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κοινὰς εὐχὰς ἐρχομένης εἰ μὴ ἀρετῆς σπανίως λαμβάνων ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνεῖσθαι τοῖς ἁγίοις. *Origen contra Celsum, l. 4. p. 178.*

^a all those that were baptized, were look'd upon as Members of the Church, and had a Right to all the Priviledges thereof; except they had been guilty of gross and scandalous

^b We do our utmost, that our Assemblies be composed of good and wise Men. So that ^c none who are admitted to our Congregations, and Prayers, are vitious and wicked, except very rarely it may happen, that a particular bad Man may be concealed in so great a Number.

But since the greatest Part of Christians were adult Persons at their Conversion to Christianity, and Admission into Church Fellowship and Society, therefore we must consider the Prerequisites of Baptism, since that Sacrament gave them a Right and Title to that Admission or Reception.

Now those Persons who designed to leave Heathenism and Idolatry, and desired to be Members of a Christian Church, were not presently

sently advanced to that Degree, but were first continued a certain space of Time in the Rank of the Catechumens, or the Catechised ones: These were Candidates of Christianity, who were to stay some time in that Order for these two Reasons: The one was, That they might be catechised and instructed in the Articles of the Christian Faith, from whence they were called *Catechumens*: And the other was,

^a *that they might give Demonstrations of the Reality of their Intentions, by the Change of their Lives, and Holiness of their Conversations.*

^a Ἐισὶ τινες τετραγυμνοὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοπδεῖν τοῦ βίβης. Idem Ibidem, p. 142.

Whilst they were in this Estate, or rather in a preparatory thereunto,

^b *they were first privately instructed at Home, till they understood the more Intelligible Principles of Christianity, and then they were admitted into the first Rank of Catechumens, who are called by Tertullian*

^b Κατ' ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς παρεπιπασσάντες. Idem Ibidem, p. 142.

^c *Edocēti, or, those that are taught. These were permitted* ^d *to come into the Church where they stood in a Place by themselves,* ^e *and were present at the Sermons, which were adapted to their Capacities, being Discourses of the ordinary and less mysterious Truths of the Gospel. If they behaved*

^c De Prascript. adv. Heret. p. 89.

^d Τῶν καὶ δε αὐτοῦ εἰσαγγεσθῶσιν, εἰδία μὲν ποιήσαντες τὰ ματῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχομῶν καὶ εἰσαγομένων. Origen contra Celsum, lib 3. p. 142.

^e Παροσσιωπῶμεν τὰ βαδύτερα τοῦ συνέρχομῆνε καὶ δεομῆνε λόγων παρεπιπῶσ κῶσ ὀνομαζομῆνων γάλα. Idem Ibidem, p. 143.

them-

themselves well in this Rank, then they were
 advanc'd to the ^a Superi-
^a Ἐξεργῶν ἢ τὸ ἄγιον; Idem our Rank of the ^b Perfecti,
 Ibidem. p. 142. or, Perfect, as Tertullian
^b De Prescript. advers. calls them, who stay'd
 Heret, p. 89. not only at the Lessons
 and Sermons, but also at the Prayers; which
 were the Conclusion of the first Service, and in
 a little time were baptized, and tarried with
 the Faithful at the Celebration of the Eucharist,
 or the Second Service.

This was the Manner of Admission amongst
 the Ancients; none in those Days were hastily
 advanced to the higher Forms of Christianity,
 but according to their Knowledge and Merit
 gradually arrived thereunto, being first instru-
 cted at home, then admitted to the didactick
 Part of the Publick, and then to the supplica-
 tive Part thereof. It was the wicked Policy of
 the Hereticks ^c Indiffe-
^c Quis Catechumenus, quis fidelis incertum est; rently to pray and hear
 pariter audiunt, pariter with all, making no Diffe-
 orant. Tert. de Prescript. ference between the Faithful
 advers. Heret. p. 88. and the Catechumens: But
 the true Church distin-

guished and permitted not the Catechumens to
 enjoy the Privileges of the Faithful, till they
 had in a Sense merited them; which was, when
 thro' a considerable time of Trial they had evi-
 denced the Sincerity of their Hearts, by the
 Sanctity and Purity of their Lives; and then,
 as Origen saith, ^d we ini-

^d Ἐπαὶν ἢ οἱ παρεκτόπιοντες tiate them in our Myste-
 παρερρήσωσι τὸ κενάδαρ) rious;
 ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ὅση δύναμις βέλτιον βεβαιώκεναι τὸ τιμωκά-
 δε καλεῖμεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν τελετὰς. Contra
 Celsum, lib. 3. p. 174.

ries, when they have made a Proficiency in Holiness, and according to the utmost of their Power, have reformed their Conversation. When they had changed their Manners, and rectified their irregular Carriages; then they were washed with the Water of Baptism, and not before; for as *Tertullian* saith,

† We are not baptized, that we may cease to Sin, but because we have already ceased.

† Non ideo abluimur, ut delinquere desinamus, sed quia desinivimus. De Pœnitentiâ, p. 379.

As soon as they were baptized they commenced Members of the Church Universal, and of that particular Church, wherein they were so baptized, and became actual Sharers and Exerters of all the Privileges and Powers of the Faithful.

§. 2. Now what the distinct and separate Powers of the Faithful were, must be next considered; several of them, to make the Discourse under the former Head complete, we touched there, as their Election and Choise of their Bishops, their Attestation to those that were Ordained, and such-like, which will be unnecessary and tedious to repeat here; and others of them cannot be well separated from their conjunct Acts with the Clergy, but must with them be discoursed of in the next Head, so that there will be little or nothing to say here of their Discretive and Particular Acts, save, that as they had Power to elect their Bishops, so if their Bishops proved afterwards Scandalous and grossly Wicked in Life, or at least Heretical in Doctrine and Apostates from the Faith, they had Power to depose them, and to chuse others

in their rooms. This I must be forced also to mention in another Place, so that for the Proof of it I shall urge only the Case of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, who for Apostacy and Idolatry were deserted by their Parishes, who elected *Felix* and *Sabinus* Bishops in their steads. After this Deposition *Martialis* and *Basilides* claim'd the Exercise of their Episcopal Authority but their Parishes deny'd it to them; and that they might not seem to act by a Power which belonged not unto them, they sent to several Bishops in *Africa*, to know their Judgment thereupon, who being convened in a Synod *Anno 258*, whereof *Cyprian* was President, approv'd and commended their Proceed-

ings, assuring them, ^a *That it was according to the Divine Law, which was express, that none but those that were holy and blameless should approach God's Altar; that if they had continued to have communicated with their profane Bishops, they would have been Accessaries to their Guilt and Villany, and would have contradicted those Examples and Commands in Scripture, which*

^a Desiderio vestro divina præcepta respondent quibus jam pridem mandantur voce cœlesti, & Dei lege præscribitur, quos & quales oporteat deservire altari—in Levitico præcipit Dominus & dicit; Homo, in quo fuerit macula & vitium non accedet offerre dona Deo— nec sibi plebs blandiatur quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum Sacerdote peccatore communicans— Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis domlnicis, & Deum metuens, à peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad Sacrilegi Sacerdotis Sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel elegendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos rescusandi. *Epist. 68. apud. Cyprian. §. 1, 3, 4, P. 200, 201.*

oblige

oblige a People to separate from their wicked and ungodly Ministers; That they had not acted irregularly in what they had done; since as the People had the chief Power of choosing worthy Bishops, so also of refusing those that are unworthy: And many other such like Passages are to be found in that synodical Epistle, which flatly asserts the Peoples Power to depose a wicked and scandalous Bishop.

But however, tho' the People had such a Power appertaining to them, yet being subject to be guided by Giddiness, Envy or Pride, where Churches were regularly associated, and their Circumstances did permit it, they did not by Virtue of their Power alone, upon their own single Judgment depose their Bishop; but that their Actions might be the more authentick and unquestionable, they had their Complaints heard, and the whole Affair examined by the Synod to which they belonged, or by some other Bishops, who, if their Accusations were just and valid, might concur with them in the Deposition of their Bishop, and in the Election of a new one: And from hence it is, that we find the Power of Deposing Bishops ascribed to Synods, ^a as *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch*, was deprived by a Synod held in that Place, and ^b *Privatus* Bishop of *Lambese* was deposed by a Synod of ninety Bishops. The same Method being observed in the Deposition of a Bishop, as in his Election. As a Bishop was elected by the

^a *Apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 30. p. 282.*

^b *Nonaginta Episcoporum sententiâ condemnatum. Cyprian. Epist. 55. §. 11. p. 140.*

People, over whom he was to preside, and by the neighbouring Bishops, so was he deposed by the same; both which Things seem to be intimated in that Passage of the forementioned

^a Quando ipsa maximè habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. *Apud Cypr. Epist.* 68. §. 4. p. 201.

Synodical Epistle, where-
in it is said, ^a *That the People chiefly has Power, either to chuse worthy Bishops, or to refuse unworthy ones.* The Word

chiefly implying, that besides the People, some others were necessary to concur with them either in the Election or Deprivation of a Bishop; and those were the neighbouring Bishops, or to speak more properly, that Synod to which they appertained; of which Synods, of their Power and Authority, I shall discourse more largely elsewhere.

§. 3. Having thus briefly dispatched the Second Head, I now proceed to handle the Third, which respects the conjunct Acts of the Clergy and Laity: In Answer whereunto, I find, that, in general, all Things relating to the Government and Policy of the Church, were performed by their joint Consent and Admini-

strations, ^b *the People were to do nothing without the Bishop: And the on contrary, ^c he did nothing without the Knowledge and Consent of his People: ^d When any Letters came from foreign Churches, they were received, and read before the whole Church*

^b Ἐν ἅλλοις ἐπιστολάς μὴ δὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἴδεναι. *Ignat. Epist. ad Trallel.* p. 47.

^c A primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consensu plebis meæ privata sententia gerere. *Cyprian. Epist.* 6. §. 5. p. 17.

^d Plebi legere te semper literas nostras. *Cyprian. Epist.* 55. §. 21. p. 144.

Church, and ^a the whole Church agreed upon common Letters to be sent to other Churches. And so for all other Matters relating to the Policy of the Church, they were managed ^b by the common Advice and Counsel of the Clergy and Laity, both concurred to the Discharge of those Actions, to recite every particular Act whereof would be extreamly tedious and fruitless. Wherefore in speaking hereunto, I shall confine my self to those of their complex Acts, that regarded the Discipline of the Church, which being an Answer to the Second Part of our Enquiry, viz. An Enquiry into the Discipline of the Primitive Church, shall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

^a Vicarias vero pro nobis, ego, & Collegæ, & Fraternitas omnis, has ad vos literas mittimus Idem Ep. 58. §. 2. p. 163.

^b In commune tractabimus. Cyprian. Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.

C H A P. VII.

§. 1. *The Necessity, Quality, and Excellency of Discipline. Six Things propounded to be handled. 1. For what Faults Offenders were censured. 2. Who were the Judges that censured. 3. The Manner of their Censures. 4. What their Censures were. 5. The Course that Offenders took to be absolved. 6. The Manner of their Absolution.* §. 2. *Censures were inflicted or all Sorts of Crimes, especially for Idolatry.* §. 3. *The whole Church were the Judges that composed the Ecclesiastical Consistory: The Ex-*

ecutive Power lodg'd in the Clergy, and Legislative both in Clergy and Laity. In difficult Points some neighbouring Bishops assisted at the Decision of them. §. 4. The Manner of their Censures. §. 5. Their Censures consisted in Excommunications, and Suspensions; the Dreadfulness thereof. §. 6. The Course that Offenders took to be absolved: They first lay groveling and weeping at the Church Doors. §. 7. Then admitted into the Rank of the Penitents. Their Behaviour during their Time of Penance: §. 8. How long their Penance was. In some Cases the fixed Period anticipated; when ended, the Penitents were examined by the Court, and if approved, then absolved. §. 9. The Manner of their Absolution. They came into the Church with all Expressions of Sorrow, publicly confessed the Sin for which they had been censured. The Church was tenderly affected with their Confession. §. 10. After Confession they were absolved by the Clergies Imposition of Hands. §. 11. Then admitted to the Church's Peace. The Clergy generally restored only to Lay-Communion.

§. I. **A**S all Governments are necessitated to make use of Laws, and other political Means, to preserve their Constitution: So the Church of Christ, which has a certain Government annexed to it, that it may preserve its self from Ruin and Confusion, has certain Laws and Orders for the due Regulation of her Members, and Penalties annexed to the Breaches thereof. But herein lies the Difference between the one and the other; the Penalties and Executions

cutions of the former, are like its Constitution, purely Human and Carnal; but those of the other are Spiritual; as Religion was at first received by Spiritual and Voluntary, and not by Carnal and Involuntary Means: For as *Tertulian* says,

a It is not Religion, to force a Religion, which ought to be willingly, not forcibly received. So by the same Means it was

a Nec Religionis est cogere Religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi. *Ad Scapulam*, p. 447.

continued, and the Penalties of the Breach of it were of the same Nature also. The Church's Arms were Spiritual, consisting of Admonitions, Excommunications, Suspensions, and such-like, by the wielding of which she governed her Members, and preserved her own Peace and Purity. Now this is that which is called Discipline, which is absolutely necessary to the Unity, Peace, and Being of the Church.; for where there is no Law, Government or Order, that Society cannot possibly subsist, but must sink in its own Ruins and Confusions.

To recite the numerous Encomiums of Discipline that are interspers'd in the Writings of the Ancients, would be an endless Task: Let this One suffice out of

Cyprian, *b* Discipline, says he, is the Keeper of Hope, the Stay of Faith, the Captain of Salvation, the Fuel and Nutriment of a good Disposition, the Mistress of Vertue, that makes us perpetually abide in Christ, and live to God,

b Disciplina custos spei, retinaculum fidei, Dux itineris salutaris, fomes ac nutrimentum bonæ indolis, magistra virtutis, facit in Christo manere semper ac jugiter Deo vivere, & ad promissa cœlestia & divina præmia pervenire. Hanc & sectari salubre est, &

averfari ac negligere letale. In Pfalmis loquitur Spiritus Sanctus: Continere Disciplinam, ne forte irascatur Dominus, & pereatis à via recta, cum exarserit cito ira ejus super vos. Et iterum; peccatori autem dixit Deus, ad quid exponis justificationes meas, & assumus testamentum meum per os tuum? Tu autem odisti Disciplinam, & abjecisti Sermones meos retro. Et denuo legimus: Disciplinam quia abjicit, infelix est. Et de Salomone mandata Sapientiae momentis accipimus: Filii ne neglexeris disciplinam Domini, nec defeceris ab eo correptus. Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit. Si autem Deus quem diligit, corripit, & ad hoc corripit, ut emendet, fratres quoque & maximè Sacerdotes, non oderunt; sed diligunt eos quos corripunt ut emendent; quando & Deus per Hieremiam ante prædixerit, & tempora nostra significaverit, dicens; & dabo vobis pastores secundum cor meum, & pascent vos pascentes cum Disciplina. *De Disciplina & Habitu Virginum, p. 1. p. 255, 256.*

and tend towards the Heavenly and Divine Promises. This to follow is saving, but to despise and neglect is deadly. The Holy Ghost speaks, in Psal. 2. 12. Keep Discipline, lest the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right Way, when his Wrath is kindled but a little against you. And again, in Psal. 50. 16. But unto the Sinner God said, What hast thou to do to declare my Law, and to take my Judgments into thy Mouth? Thou hatest Discipline, and castest my Words behind thee. And again, we read in Wisdom 3. 11. He that casteth off Discipline is unhappy. And by Solomon we have received this Command from Wisdom, in Prov. 3. 11. My Son, forget not the Discipline of the Lord, nor faint when thou art corrected; for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth. But if God corrects whom he loves, and corrects them that they may amend; Christians also, and especially Ministers,
do

do not hate, but love those whom they correct, that they may amend since God hath also foretold our Times in Jer. 3. 15. And I will give you Pastors after mine own Heart, and they shall feed you in Discipline.

Now this is that Discipline, viz. The Power and Authority of the Church exerted by her, for her own Preservation, in the censuring of her offending Members, that I am now to Discourse of; for the clearer Apprehension whereof these Six Queries must be examined into, 1. For what Faults Offenders were censured. 2. Who were the Judges that censured. 3. The Manner of their Censures. 4. What their Censures were. 5. The Course that Offenders took to be Absolved. And, 6. The Manner of their Absolution.

§. 2. As to the first of these; For what Faults Offenders were censured. I answer; for

^a Schism, ^b Heresie, ^c Covetousness, ^d Gluttony, ^e Fornication, ^f Adultery, and for ^g all other Sins whatsoever, none excepted; nay, the holy and good Men of those Days were so zealous against Sin, that they used the strictest Severities against the least Appearances of it, not indulging or sparing the least Branch of

^a So was *Felicissimus* in *Cyprian. Epist. 38. §. 2. p. 90.*

^b *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 181.*

^c *Origen. Hom. 7. in Jerem. p. 94. Vol. 1.*

^d *Origen. Ibidem.*

^e *Cyprian. Ep. 52. §. 13. p. 118.*

^f *Cyprian. Epist. 38. §. 2. p. 90.*

^g *Origen contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 142.*

its pestiferous Production, but smartly punishing the least Sprout of it, its lesser Acts, as well as those that were more scandalous and notorious. *Cyprian* writes, that not only

^a Epist. 12. §. 1. p. 37. ^a *Gravissima & extrema delicta, the greatest and most heinous Crimes, but even Minora Delicta, The lesser Faults* were punished by their Ecclesiastical Courts, so cutting off Sin in its Bud, and by the Excision of its lesser Acts and Ebulitions, preventing its more gross and scandalous Eruptions. That particular Sin which they most severely punished, and through the frequency of Persecutions had numerous Objects of, was Apostacy from the Truth, or a lapsing into Idolatry, which Crime was always prosecuted with the extremest Rigour; of which *Ninus, Clementianus* and *Florus* were sad Instances, who tho' they had for some time courageously endur'd their Prosecutions and Torments, yet at last, thro' the violence thereof, and the weakness of their Flesh, unwillingly consenting to the Heathen Idolatries, were for that Fault forc'd to undergo Three Years Penance; and had it not been for their ancient Merits, must have underwent it much longer, as may be seen at large in the 53d Epistle of *Cyprian*. And thus by these and such-like severe and rigorous Courses, those Primitive Virtuoso's endeavour'd to prevent Sin, and to make all the Professors of the Christian Religion truly holy and pious; for as *Origen* saith,

^b Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὅση δύναμις πάντα ποιεῖται ὑπερ ἢ θενίμων ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι τὸ σύλλογον ἡμῶν. *Contra Celsum*, lib. 3. p. 143.

^b *We use our utmost Endeavours, that our Assemblies be composed of wise and honest Men.*

§. 3. As for the Judges that compos'd the Consistory or Ecclesiastical Court, before whom offending Criminals were con-

convened, and by whom censured, they will appear to have been the whole Church, both Clergy and Laity; not the Bishop without the People, nor the People without the Bishop, but both conjunctly constituted that Supreme Tribunal, which censured Delinquents and Transgressors, as will be evident from what follows.

All the Power that any Church-Court exerted, was derived from that Promise and Commission of Christ, in *Matth. 16. 18, 19.* *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; whatsoever thou shalt loose in Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* Now this Power some of the Antients mention, as given to the Bishops. Thus Origen

writes, ^a *That the Bishops applied to themselves this Promise that was made to Peter, teaching, That they had received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven from our Saviour, that so whatsoever was bound, that is, condemned by them on Earth, was bound in Heaven; and whatsoever was loosed by them, was also*

^a Ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὸ τὸν ἑπισκοπῆς ἐκδικῆντες χρωμένων τῷ ῥητῷ ὡς Πέτρῳ, καὶ τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας ὑποσώσῃς εἰληφότες διδάσκουσιν τε τὰ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν δεδεδικασμένα, καὶ ἐν ἕρνοις δεδέδωκεν, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἀφροσιν εἰληφότα, καὶ ἐν ἕρνοις λελυθέντι ὑγιῶς λέγουσιν εἰ ἔχουσιν ἕρσον δι' ὃ εἶρη ἐκείνῳ τῷ Πέτρῳ, σὺ εἶ

Πέτρῳ, καὶ εἰ τελικῆτοι εἰσιν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆτω ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴς ἐυλόγησας, τῆτο ἀναφέρειτ' ἄν. *Commentar. in Matthæum, Tom. 12. p. 279. Vol. 1.*

loosed in Heaven; which, says he, may be Orthodoxly enough applied to them, if they hold Peter's Confession, and are such as the Church of Christ may be built upon. And so also says Cy-

^a *Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur; & omnis actus Ecclesiæ, per eisdem præpositos gubernetur. Epist. 27. §. 1. p. 62.*

prian, ^a *The Church is founded upon the Bishops, by whom every Ecclesiastical Action is govern'd.*

Others of the Antients mention this Power, as given to the whole Church, according to that in *Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17, 18.* *If thy Brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his Fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother; but if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every Word may be established; and if he shall neglect them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen and a Publican. Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.* By the Church here is to be understood, the whole Body of a particular Church or Parish, unto which some of the Fathers attribute

^b *Si clausum putas Cœlum, memento claves ejus hic Dominum Petro, & per eum Ecclesiæ reliquisse. Scorpiac. p. 612.*

^c *Potestas remittendorum peccatorum Apostolis, data est, & Ecclesiis quas illi à Christo missi, constituerunt, & Episcopis qui eis Ordinatione vacariâ successerunt. Apud Cyprian Epist. 75. §. 14. p. 240.*

the Power of the Keys, as *Tertullian*, ^b *If thou fearest Heaven to be shut, remember the Lord gave its Keys to Peter, and by him to the Church.* And *Firmilian*, ^c *The Power of*

remitting Sins is given to the Apostles, and to the Churches which they constituted, and to the Bishops who succeeded them. Now from this different Attribution of the Power of the Keys, we may infer this, That it was so lodged both in Bishops and People, as that each had some share in it: The Bishop had the whole Executive, and part of the Legislative Power; and the People had a part in the Legislative, tho' not in the Executive. As for the Executive Power, by which I understand the formal Pronunciation of Suspensions and Excommunications, the Imposition of Hands in the Absolution of Penitents, and such like; that could be done by none, but by the Bishop, or by Persons in Holy Orders deputed and commission'd by him, as the Sequel will evince. But as for the Legislative, Decretive, or Judicatorial Power, that appertained both to Clergy and Laity, who conjunctly made up that Supreme Consistorial Court, which was in every Parish, before which all Offenders were tried; and, if found Guilty, sentenced and condemned.

Now that the Clergy were Members of this Ecclesiastical Court, is a Thing so evidently known and granted by all, as that it would be superfluous to heap up many Quotations to prove it, so that I shall but just confirm it, after I have proved that which may seem more strange; and that is, That the Laity were Members thereof, and Judges therein, being Sharrers with the Clergy in the Judicial Power of the Spiritual Court: And this will most evidently appear by the Consideration of these following

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ing Testimonies: The first shall be out of that Place of *Clemens Romanus*, where he writes,

• Ἐἰ δὲ ἐμὲ εἰσὶς καὶ ἕεις, καὶ χίσματα, ἐσχωρῶ ἀπειμι, ἔἰαν βελεθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ πρῶτα ὁμολογῶ καὶ πλῆθους. *Epist. 1. ad Corinth. p. 69.*

^a *Who will say according to the Example of Moses, If Seditions, Contentions and Schisms are hapned because of me, I will depart, I will go wheresoever*

you please, and I will do what are enjoined me by the People, so the Church of Christ be in Peace.

So *Origen* describes a Criminal as appearing

^b *Comment. in Mat. Tom. 13. p. 335. Vol. 1.*

ἐπὶ πάσης τῆ ἐκκλησίας, ^b before the whole Church.

And *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* in his Letter to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, speaks of one *Serapion*, that had fallen in the Times of Persecution, who had several Times appeared before the Church, to beg their

^c Οὐδὲὶς προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44. p. 246.*

Pardon, but ^c no one did ever take any Notice of him.

But *Cyprian* is most full in this Matter, as when two Subdeacons and Acolyth of his Parish, had committed some great Misdemeanors, he professes that he himself was not a sufficient Judge of their

^d Hæc singulorum tractanda sit, & limanda pleniùs ratio— cum plebe ipsa univèrsa. *Epist. 28. §. 2. p. 64.*

Crimes, but ^d they ought to be tried by all the People. And concerning *Felicissimus* the Schismatick, he writes to his People from his Exile, that, if it

pleasèd God, he would come to them after *Easter*,

ster, and then that ^h *Affair should be adjusted according to their Arbitrement and common Counsel.*

And in another Place he condemns the rash Precipitation of some of his Presbyters in admit-

ting the Lapsed to Communion, because of some Pacificatory Libels obtain'd from the Confessors, and charges them to admit no more till Peace was restored to the Church, and then they should ⁱ *plead their Cause before the Clergy; and before all the People;*

And concerning the same Matter, he writes in another Letter to the People of his Parish;

^k *That when it should please God to restore Peace to the Church, and reduce him from his Exile, that then it should be examined in their Presence, and according to their Judgment.*

^h *Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum & omnium nostrum Commune Consilium— ea quæ agenda sunt disponere pariter, & limare poterimus. Epist. 40. §. 1. p. 94.*

ⁱ *Acturi & apud nos, & apud plebem universam causam suam. Epist. 10. §. 4. p. 30.*

^k *Cum pace nobis omnibus à Domino prius data ad Ecclesiam regredi cœperimus, tunc examinabuntur singula præsentibus ac iuricantibus vobis. Epist. 12. ad Plebem, §. 1. p. 37.*

So that the Consistory Court was composed of the People, as well as of the Bishop, each of whom had a negative Voice therein. On one side, the Bishop could do nothing without the People. So when several returned from the Schism of *Fortunatus*, and Bishop *Cyprian* was willing to receive them into the Church's Peace, he complains of the unwillingness of his People to admit them, and the great difficulties he had

to obtain their Consent, as he thus describes it in his Letter to *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*,

^m O si posses, Frater charissime, istic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti & perversi de Schismate revertuntur, videris quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam Fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisque consentiant; vix plebi persuadeo, imò extorqueo, ut tales patientur admitti. *Epist.* 55. §. 17. p. 143.

^m O my dear Brother, if you could be present with me, when those Men return from their Schism, you would wonder at what pains I take to persuade our Brethren to be patient, that laying aside their Grief of Mind, they would consent to the healing and receiving of those that are Sick; I can scarce persuade, yea, I extort a Grant from my

People, that such be received to Communion. And on the other side, the People could do nothing without the Bishop; as when One of the Three Bishops that Schismatically ordained *Novatian*, came back to the Church and desired Admission, the People alone could not receive him, without the Consent of the Bishop *Cornelius*; for else they would not have

ⁿ Ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ δειδεντὸ πάντος τῶ παρόντι λαῷ. *Cornel.* apud *Euseb.* lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 244.

so earnestly press'd him for his Permission, as we find they did.

Thus then we have viewed the Members of the Spiritual Court, and have proved that they were all the Members, or the whole Body of the Church, Clergy as well as Laity, and Laity as well as Clergy; not one without the other, but both together.

But now forasmuch as the People were encumbred with earthly Business, and it was not possible

possible that they could constantly give their attendance, and narrowly search into every thing that should be brought before them: Therefore we may suppose, that the Members of the Presbytery, who, as was said before, under the Head of Ordination, were to be free from all Worldly Cares and Employments, were appointed as a Committee to prepare Matters for the whole Court. An Instance whereof we meet with in *Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius*, and some others, that had joined in the Schism of *Novatian*, who being sensible of their Fault, ¹ *Came into the Presbytery, and desir'd the Church's Peace; the Presbytery accepted of their Submission, and propos'd it to the whole Church, who readily embraced it.*

¹ In Presbyterium venerunt — Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerit insinuandus. *Cyprian. Epist. 45. S. 2, 3. p. 104, 105.*

So that the Presbytery prepared Matters for the whole Court, which Court was the Supreme Tribunal within the Limits of that Parish, before whom all Matters that there occurred, were tried, and by whom all were judged; only when any great and difficult Points were decided, 'tis probable it was the Custom to desire the Bishops of the neighbouring Parishes to come over, and assist there in Presence, that so their Censures might be the freer from any Imputation of Partiality or Injustice. Thus when a nice Affair was to be determined at *Rome*, *Cornelius* ² *desired five Bi-*

² *Adfuerunt Episcopi quinque — ut firmato consilio, quid circa personam eorum observari deberet, consensu omnium statueretur. Cornel. ad Cyprian. Epist. 46. S. 2. p. 104.*

shops to assist, that so what they did might be firm and indisputable.

§. 4. Having thus found out the Members of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, the next thing to be consider'd, is the Manner and Form of their Proceedings in the Exercise of their Judicial Power and Authority, which by *Tertullian* is described to be after this Manner: When at their general Assemblies the other Parts of Di-

³ *Ibidem* etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura divina; nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri iudicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, & conventus, & omni sancti commercii relegatur. Præfident probati quique Seniores, honorem istum non precio sed testimonio adepti. *Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.*

vine Worship were ended, ³ then followed Exhortations, Reproofs, and a Divine Censure; for the Judgment is given with great Weight, as amongst those that are sure that God beholds what they do; and this is one of the highest Preludiums and Fore-runners of the Judgment to come, when the Delinquent is banished from the Communion of Prayers, Assemblies, and all Holy

Commerce. Approved Elders preside there, who obtained that Honour by Testimony, not by Price. So that when the Consistory was sat, the Bishop and his assisting Presbyters, here called *Approved Elders*, but commonly the Presbytery, presided and moderated all Things there proposed and debated. Then the Offenders, if possible, were actually brought before them, (tho' the non-appearance of the Criminals was no impediment to their Proceedings) for notwithstanding they condemned them, and censured them

not only for those Crimes, for which they were cited to appear, but also for their Contumacy and Stubbornness, as Cyprian writes, ⁴ *the Proud and Obstinate are killed with the Spiritual Sword, whilst they are cast out of the Church; and* ⁵ *those that are Stubborn and fear not God, but go off from the Church, let no Man accompany.* But yet, I say, if possible, the Offenders personally appeared, that so their Crimes might be objected to them, to which they were to plead, as Cyprian says, that the Lapsed ⁶ *were to plead their Cause before the Clergy and the whole Church.* Then the Court consider'd the Defendant's Plea, as Cyprian writes, ⁷ *that all things were debated in common amongst them.* And if the Bishop and Majority of the Court judged their Defence insufficient, they were voted by their common Suffrage to be condemned and censured, as Cyprian writes, that ⁸ *whoever was excommunicated, it was by the Divine Suffrages of the People.* The Delinquent being thus cast, or found Guilty, the next Thing that succeeded, was the formal Declaration of the Sentence of the Court, which was

⁴ Spirituali gladio superbi & contumaces necantur, dum de ecclesia ejiciuntur. Epist. 62. §. 3. p. 170.

⁵ Contumaces & Deum non timentes, & ab Ecclesia in totum recedentes, nemo comitetur. Epist. 64. §. 4. p. 191.

⁶ Acturi & apud nos, & apud Plebem universam causam suam. Epist. 10. §. 4. p. 30.

⁷ In commune tractabimus. Epist. 6. §. 5. p. 17.

⁸ Secundum vestra divina suffragia conjurati. Epist. 40. ad Plebem. §. 1. p. 92.

pronounced, as *Tertullian* intimates in that fore-quoted Passage, by one of the presiding Elders, that is, either by the Bishop, or a Presbyter Commission'd by him; the manner of which Pronunciation seems also from that Passage to be thus: He that pass'd the formal Sentence on the Criminal, first began with *Exhortations*; that is, as we may reasonably suppose, he exhorted the Faithful to use all diligent Care and Fear to avoid those Sins and Crimes, which had brought the Offenders before them to so lamentable and fatal Condition. Then followed Reproofs, which were sharp Rebukes and Reprehensions to the Delinquents, for their foul Miscarriages and enormous Practices, setting forth the Evil, Villany, and Misery of them: That they were provoking to God, grievous to the Faithful, scandalous to Religion, and in fine, ruining and pernicious to themselves, in that it rendred them obnoxious to that *Divine Censure*, which then immediately, as the Conclusion of all, he formally pronounced on them. Which brings me to the Consideration of the Fourth Query, *viz.* What the Primitive Censures were; of which, in the following Section.

§. 5. Now in answer hereunto; as the Church, so her Arms were Spiritual; her Thunderbolts consisted in Suspensions and Excommunications, in ejecting and throwing out of the Church her scandalous and rotten Members, not permitting a re-induction of them, till by visible Signs of Repentance they had satisfied for their Crimes and Villanies.

Various are the Appellations that are given to the Sentence of Excommunication in the Writings of the Ancients. By *Dionysius Alexandrinus* it is called, ⁹ *A driving away from the Church.* By *Tertullian*, ¹ *A casting out from the Church's Communion,* and ² *a driving from Communion.* By *Cyprian*, ³ *A Separation from the Church,* ⁴ *An Ejection out of the Church,* ⁵ *A killing with the Spiritual Sword,* and many other such like Terms occur in the Fathers, all tending to describe the Fearfulness and Misery of an Excommunicated State: So tremendous was it, that whosoever was in that Condition, was look'd upon as accursed by God, and really was so by Men, who esteem'd him as a Limb of Satan, and a Member of the Devil, shunning his Company as they did the Plague, or any other infectious Disease. ⁶ *Those, says Cyprian, that are Proud, and fear not God, but go off from the Church, let no Man accompany.* And therefore *Irenæus* speaking concerning the *Hereticks*, who were all Excommunicated, says, ⁷ *that according to the Command of Paul, we must avoid*

⁹ Ἀπλάσους τῆ ἐκκλησίας. Apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 7. p. 253.

¹ Ab Ecclesiæ Communicatione abjectus. De Præscript. advers. Heret. p. 95.

² A communicatione depellere. De Monogam. p. 477.

³ Ab Ecclesia separari. Epist. 38. §. 2. p. 90.

⁴ De Ecclesia se pellerent. Epist. 40. §. 1 p. 92.

⁵ Spirituali gladio necantur. Epist. 62. §. 3. p. 170.

⁶ Contumaces & Deum non timentes, & ab Ecclesia in totum recedentes, nemo comitetur. Epist. 65. §. 4. p. 191.

⁷ Quos Paulus jubet nobis devitare, Joannes enim non Ave nobis eis them 5

dici volens. Qui enim dicit, inquit, eis Ave, communicat operibus eorum nequissimis. Lib. I. cap. 13. p. 63.

Tertullian in that forementioned Place writes,

⁸ A communicatione orationis & conventus, & omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Apol. c. 39. p. 709.

them; and John forbids us so much as to wish them God speed, since by so doing we communicate with their Evil Works. And

⁸ That the Delinquent was banished from the Communion of Prayers, Assemblies, and all holy Converse; being look'd upon as one unworthy of human Society,

cast out of the Church of God here; and if impenitently dying in that Condition, as certainly excluded the Kingdom of God hereafter. For as Origen writes on Matth. 18. 18. on which Text Excommunication is found-

⁹ Ὁ τοῦτ' ἔδεδεμῖθ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐδ' ἐμῖθ', ἔδενδς τῆς ἐν ἔργων ἀναλύουθ' τῆς δεδικοῦθ' αὐτῶ τῶ ψῆρον. Comment. in Matth. Tom. 13. p. 336. Vol. I.

ed, ⁹ He that is condemned and bound by the Church on Earth, remains bound, none in Heaven unloosing him.

§. 6. No wonder then that Men in their right

Senses were affrighted at the tremendous Misery of an Excommunicated Condition, and that when through their corrupt Natures and wicked Practices they had incurred that Sentence, they never left Fasting, Watching, Weeping, and the Endurance of the severest Courses of Mortification, till they were absolved from it, and reinstated in God and the Church's Favour. Which brings me in the next Place to search into the Course that Offenders took to be

recei-

received into the Church again; the usual Method whereof seems to have been thus :

All those that desired to be delivered from that miserable state, in the first place in a most penitent and humble manner came weeping and crying unto the Church-doors, where they lay groveling on the ground, prostrating themselves at the Feet of the Faithful as they went into Church, and begging their Prayers to God for them. The Behaviour of these Men is thus elegantly express'd by the Clergy of the Church

of Rome in a Letter to Cyprian, *Let them, say they, knock at the Church-doors, but not break them; let them come to the Threshold of the Church, but not pass over it; let them watch at the Gates of the Celestial Tents, but armed with Modesty, by which they may remember they were Deserters; let them resume the Trumpet of their Prayers, but not to sound an Alarm to Battel; let them arm themselves with the Darts of Modesty, and retake that Shield, which by their Apostacy they lost, that so they may*

1 Pulsent sane fores, sed non utique confringant; adeant ad limen Ecclesiæ, sed non utique transiliant. Castrorum cœlestium excubent portis, sed armati modestia, qua intelligant se desertores fuisse. Resumant precum suarum tubam, sed qua non bellicum clangant. Arment se quidem modestiæ telis, & quem negando mortis metu fidei demiserant, clypeum resumant, sed ut contra hostem Diabolum vel nunc armati non contra Ecclesiam, quæ illorum dolet casus, armatos se esse credant. Multum illis proficiet petitio modesta, postulatio verecunda, humilitas necessaria,

patientia non otiosa; mittant legatos pro suis doloribus lacrymas; advocacione fungantur ex intimo pectore prolati gemitus, dolorem probantes commissi criminis & pudorem. Epist. 31. apud Cyprian. S. 7. p. 71.

be armed, not against the Church, which grieves at their Misery, but against their Adversary the Devil; a modest Petition, a bashful Supplication, a necessary Humility, and an Industrious Patience will be advantageous to them; let them express their grief by their Tears, and their sorrow and shame for their Crimes by their Groans. So Tertullian, in the same manner describes one in this state,

² Sacco & cineri incubare, corpus fordibus obscurare, animum mæroribus dejicere, — Jejunii preces alere, ingemiscere, lachrymari, & mugire dies noctesque — Presbyteris advolvi, & caris Dei ad geniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere. *De Pœnitentia*, p. 381.

² by lying in Sackcloth and Ashes, by having a squalid Body, and a dejected Soul, by fasting, praying, weeping, groaning and roaring night and day; by throwing himself at the Clergies feet, and kneeling before the Faithful, begging and desiring their Prayers and Pardon.

§. 7. If the Ecclesiastical Court thought their Repentance to be real, and those external Expressions of Sorrow and Grief to proceed from suitable Affections of Heart, then they began to incline to some Terms of Remission and Reconciliation, and gave the Delinquents some hopes of it, by admitting them to come into the Church, and to stay at some part of Divine Service, but not at the whole of it, to communicate with the Faithful, till they had for a long space of time, which they then imposed on them, by their humble and modest Carriage gave good Proofs of their Sorrow and Repentance.

This fixed Time of Tryal was called, the Time of Penance, during which the Penitent,

as he was now called, appeared in all the Formalities of Sorrow, with a course Habit, and a dejected Countenance, continually fasting and praying, lamenting and bemoaning the greatness and aggravations of his Sin and Wickedness; as may be seen in sundry places of the Fathers, all which to transcribe would be very tedious; wherefore I shall content my self with Translating a few Elegancies pertinent to this purpose, out of Cyprian's Book *De Lapsis*, wherein he thus inveighs against those, who in a state of Penance indulged themselves in the Delights and Enjoyments of the

Flesh, *Can we think that that Man weeps with his whole Heart, and with Fastings, Tears, and Sighs beseeches God, who from the very first day of his Offence daily frequents the*

Lamentari cum putamus ex toto corde jejunis, fletibus, planctibus, Dominum deprecari; qui ex primo criminis die lavacra quotidie celebrat, qui epulis affluentibus pastus, & sagina largiore distentus, cruditates suas postridie ru-

stat, nec cibos & potus suos cum pauperum necessitate communicat? Qui hilaris ac lætus incedit, quomodo mortem suam deflet? An illa ingemiscit & plangit, cui vacat cultum pretiosæ vestis induere, nec indumentum Christi, quod perdidit, cogitare? Accipere pretiosa ornamenta & monilia elaborata, nec Divini & Cælestis ornatus damna deffere; tu licet indumenta peregrina & vestes fericas induas nuda es; auro te licet & margaritis gemmisque condecores, sine Christi decore deformis es. Et quæ capillos tuos inficis, vel nunc in doloribus desine, & quæ nigri pulveris ductu oculorum liniamenta depingis, vel nunc lacrymis oculos tuos ablue. Si quem de tuis charis mortali exitu perdidisses, ingemisceres dolenter, & fleres: Facie inculta, veste mutata, neglecto capillo, vultu nubilo, ore dejecto indicia maroris ostenderes, animam tuam misera perdidisti— Et non acriter plangis, non jugiter ingemiscis? S. 24, 25. p. 285.

Baths, who indulging to his gluttonous Appetite this Day, vomits up his undigested Crudities the next day, and does not communicate of his Meat and Drink to the Necessities of the Poor? He that goes gay and jocund, how doth he bewail his Death? Does that Woman weep and mourn, who spends her time in putting on splendid Garments, and does not think upon the Garment of Christ, which she lost? Who seeks after precious Ornaments and rich Jewels, and does not bewail the loss of the Heavenly and Divine adorning? Altho' thou puttest on exotick Garbs and silken Garments, thou art naked; altho' thou beautifiest thy self with Gold and Pearls, without the Beauty of Christ thou art deformed: And thou who dyest thine Hair, now leave it off in this time of Penance; and thou who paintest thine Eyes, wash it off with thy Tears. If thou shouldest lose any one of thy dear Friends by Death, thou wouldest sorrowfully weep and howl, and express the greatness of thy Sorrow by thy disregarded Face, mourning Garments, neglected Hair, cloudy Countenance, and dejected Visage. Why, O Wretch, thou hast lost thy Soul, and wilt not thou bitterly weep, and continually lament?

⁴ *Now therefore pray and supplicate more earnestly, pass the Day in weeping, the Night in watching and crying, both Night and Day in Tears and Lamentations, prostrate your selves upon the Ground,*

⁴ *Orare oportet impensius & rogare, diem luctu transigere, vigiliis noctes ac fletibus ducere, tempus omne lachrymosis lamentationibus occupare, stratos solo adherere cineri, in cilicio & sordibus volutari: post indumentum Christi perditum, nullum hic jam velle vestitum: post Diaboli cibum malle jejunium. § 28. p. 286.*

roll your selves in Dust and Ashes ; after having lost the Garment of Christ, have no cloathing here ; having tasted the Devil's Meat, chuse now to fast.

§. 8. How long these Penitentiary Stations were, cannot be defined, since they differed according to the Quality of the Offence and the Offender, according to the Circumstance of Time, and the Will and Pleasure of the Ecclesiastical Court who imposed them ; some were in the state of Penance two Years, some three, some five, some ten, some more, some even to their Lives ends ; but how long and rigorous soever their Penance was, they were patiently, humbly, and thankfully to endure it the whole time, being not absolved till they had undergone ⁵ the legal and full time of Satisfaction.

It is true indeed, that in some extraordinary Cases the Prudence of the Church saw fit to dispense with the usual Length and Severity of their inflicted Discipline, as in ⁶ Case of Death, ⁷ of an approaching Persecution, or, when a great multitude, and eminent leading Persons were concerned in the same Offence ; as in the case of Trophimus, which may be seen in the 52d Epistle

of Cyprian. Besides these, the Confessors claimed the Privilege of restoring Penitents before the usual time ; which irregular and unreasonable

⁵ Legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis. Cyprian. Epist. 59. S. 1. p. 164.

⁶ Urgere exitus cœperit. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 13. S. 1. p. 39.

⁷ Lapsis pacem dandam esse, & eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari & instrui oportere. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54. S. 1. p. 132.

Practice of theirs caused great Disturbances to the Church of *Carthage* in the Days of *Cyprian*, which may be seen at large in several Epistles extant in the beginning of his Works.

But laying aside these unusual Circumstances, the fixed Period of Penance was never anticipated; but how long and severe soever it was, the Penitent cheerfully submitted to it.

When the appointed Time of Penance was ended, the Penitent applied himself to the Ecclesiastical Court for Absolution, who⁸ examined his Demeanors and Actions, which if they approved and liked, they then proceeded to the formal assoyling of him; of which in the following Sections.

§. 9. On the appointed Day for Absolution, the Penitent, or he that was now to be absolved, came into the Church mourning and weeping, and expressing all external Indications of his Internal Sorrow: As when *Natalis*, a Roman Confessor, was absolved for his joining with the *Theodotian* Hereticks, he came into the Church, as it is related by an ancient nameless Christian,

⁸ Ἐνδυσάμενον σάρκον καὶ σπόδον καὶ ἀπασάμενος, μετὰ πολλῆς σπυδῆς καὶ δακρυῶν, προσπεσεῖν κληρῶ καὶ πρὸ λαϊκῶν — πολλῆτε τῆ δέησει χηρισάμενος. *Apud Euseb. l. 5. c. 28. p. 197.*

⁹ Non minis sed precibus & lamentationibus. *Cypr. Ep. 55. §. 18. p. 143.*

⁹ covered with Sackcloth and Ashes, throwing himself at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, and with Tears in his Eyes begging their pardon and forgiveness. It being looked upon as very proper, that they should be admitted into the Church¹ by Tears,

not by Threats ; by Prayers, and not by Curses.

Hence at this time, for the greater Demonstration of their Sorrow and Humility, they were to make a publick Confession of their Sin, styled by them *Exomologesis*, which was, as Cyprian saith, ² *A Confession of their great and heinous Crime*, and was a necessary Antecedent to Absolution, inasmuch as it was the Source and Spring of all true Repentance. For as *Tertulian* observes, ³ *Out of Confession is born Repentance, and by Confession comes Satisfaction*. And in many places of ⁴ *Cyprian* the necessity of Confession is asserted ; for as *Tertullian* says, ⁵ *Confession as much diminishes the Fault, as Dissimulation aggravates it ; Confession is the Advice of Satisfaction, Dissimulation of Contumacy*. And therefore he condemns those, who thro' shame deferred from Day to Day the Publication of their Sin, as ⁶ *more mindful of their shame-facedness, than of their Salvation : Like those who have a Disease in*

² *Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti. Epist. II. §. I. p. 32.*

³ *Satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione pœnitentia noscitur. De Pœnitentia, p. 380.*

⁴ *Epist. 10. §. 2. p. 30. Epist. II. §. I. p. 32.*

⁵ *Tantum relevat confessio delictum, quantum dissimulatio exaggerat ; confessio enim satisfactionis consilium est, dissimulatio contumaciæ. De Pœnitentia, p. 380.*

he condemns those, who thro' shame deferred from Day to Day the Publication of their Sin,

as ⁶ *more mindful of their shame-facedness, than of their Salvation : Like those who have a Disease in*

⁶ *Pudoris magis memores quam Salutis velut illi qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contractâ vexatione, conscientiam medentium vitant, & ita cum erubescencia sua*

entiam medentium vitant, & ita cum erubescencia sua pereunt. De Pœnitentia, p. 382.

their

their Secret Parts, through shame conceal it from the Chyrurgeons, and so with their Modesty die and perish. Confession therefore being so necessary, the greatest Offenders were not exempted from it; as when *Philip* the Emperor, as *Eusebius* calls him, or rather *Philip* a Prefect of *Egypt*, would have joyned with the Faithful in the Churches Prayer, Bishop *Babylas* denied him admision, because of his enormous Crimes; nor would he receive him, till he had made

7 Ἐξομολογήσαται. Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 34. P. 232.

⁷ a Publick Confession of his Faults. And accordingly when one of those Bishops that Schismatically

Ordained *Novatian*, returned as a Penitent, he came into the Church weeping, and

8 Ἐξομολογήσατο τὸ ἐαυτῷ ἀμάρτημα. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 43. P. 243.

⁸ Confessing his Sin; where we may observe, that it is said in the singular Number, his Sin, τὸ ἐαυτῷ ἀμάρτημα, which intimates,

that the Penitent's Confession was not only general, or for all his Sins in the gross; but it was particular, for that special Sin for which he was censured; consonant whereunto *Cyprian*, as before quoted, writes, that the Penitent

⁹ Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti. Epist. 11. S. 1. p. 32.

⁹ confessed his most great and heinous Sin; that is, that Sin for which he was so severely punished.

This Confession of the Penitents was made with all the outward Signs of Sorrow and Grief; which usually so affected the Faithful, as that they sympathized with them in mourning and

and weeping. Whence *Tertullian* exhorts the Penitent not through shame to conceal, but from a true Godly Disposition, to confess his Fault before the whole Church, and to weep and mourn for it, ¹ since they, being his Brethren, would also weep with, and over him. And so from the same Consideration, *Cyprian* exhorted the Lapsed to this Penitent Confession, ² with our Tears, saith he, joyn your Tears; with our Groans couple your Groans.

§. 10. As soon as Confession was over, then followed the formal Absolution, which was thus: The Person to be Absolved, kneeled down before the Bishop and the Clergy, who put their Hands upon his Head, and bless'd him; by which external Ceremony the Penitent was declaratively and formally admitted to the Churches Peace. Thus *Cyprian* writes, that they ³ received the Right of Communion by the Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and his Clergy. And that ⁴ no one can be admitted to Communion, unless the Bishop and Clergy have imposed Hands on him. This being accounted the third and last general Requisite for the reconciling of Offenders, the two former being the undergoing a
state

¹ Ergo cum te ad fratrum genua profundis—æque illi cum super te lacrymas agunt. *De Pœnitentia*, p. 382.

² Cum lacrymis nostris vestras lacrymas jungite; cum nostro gemitu, vestros gemitus copulate. *De Lapsis*, §. 27. p. 285.

³ Per impositionem manus Episcopi & Cleri jus communicationis accipiunt. *Epist.* 10. §. 2. p. 30.

⁴ Nec ad Communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi & ab Episcopo & Clero manus fuit imposita. *Epist.* 12. §. 1. p. 37.

state of Penance, and a publick Confession of their Sin ; all which three are frequently mentioned together as such by *Cyprian* ; as where he

5 *Agant peccatores pœnitentiam iusto tempore, & secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant & per impositionem manus Episcopi & Cleri jus communicacionis accipiant. Epist. 10. S. 2. p. 30.*

other places he complains of the irregular and unadvised Actions of some of his Presbyters, that they admitted some of the Lapsed to Com-

6 *Ante actam pœnitentiam, ante Exomologesin gravissimi atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab Episcopo & Clero in pœnitentiam impositam, offerre lapsis pacem, & Eucharistiam dare audeant. Epist. 11. S. 1. p. 32. and almost the same words are repeated, Epist. 12. S. 1. P. 37.*

5 says, *Let Offenders do Penance a set space of time, and according to the Order of Discipline, let them come to Confession, and by Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and Clergy, let them receive the Right of Communion.* And in

6 *before they had undergone a due Penance, made a Publick Confession of their Sin, and had Hands imposed on them by the Bishop and Clergy.*

§. II. After the Penitents were absolved by Imposition of Hands, then they were received into the Communion of the Faithful, and made Par-

takers again of all those Privileges, which by their Crimes they had for a while forfeited: Only when an offending Clergy-man was absolved, he only was restored to Communion as a Lay-man, but never re-admitted to his Ecclesiastical Dignity. Thus when one of the Schismatical Bishops, that Ordained *Novatian*, returned to the Church, he was deprived of his Ecclesiasti-

Ecclesiastical Office, and admitted only to

⁷ Lay-Communion. So

likewise Apostate or Lapsed Bishops were never restored again to their Office. The Rea-

sons whereof may be seen in the 64th Epistle of Cyprian. And therefore

⁸ Basilides a lapsed Bishop would have been extremely glad, if the Church would but have permitted him to communicate as a Layman. But

yet I suppose that for every Fault Clergymen were not deprived of

their Orders, but only according to the Greatness of their Crimes, and the Aggravation of them; since I find that

⁹ Maximus a Presbyter of the Church of Rome, who had been deluded into the Schism of Novatian, was upon his Submission, restored by Cornelius, to his former Office.

⁷ Ἐκοινωνήσαμεν ὡς λαϊκῶ. Cornel. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. P. 243.

⁸ Satis sibi gratulans, si sibi vel Laico communicare contingeret. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 7. P. 202.

⁹ Maximum Presbyterum locum suum agnoscere jussimus. Cornel. apud Cyprian. Epist. 46. §. 4 P. 105.

C H A P. VIII.

§. 1. *Of the Independency of Churches.* §. 2. *of the Dependency of Churches.* §. 3. *Of Synods, and the several kinds of them.* §. 4. *How often Synods were convened.* §. 5. *Who were the Members of Synods.* §. 6. *By whose Authority Synods were convened.* §. 7. *When convened, the manner of their Proceedings, a Moderator first chosen, what the Moderator's Office was.* §. 8. *Then they entred upon Business, which had relation either to Foreign Churches or their own; with respect to Foreign Churches, their Acts were only advising.* §. 9. *With respect to their own Churches obliging. The End and Power of Synods enquired into.*

§. 1. **T**O that large Discourse of the Primitive Discipline, which was the Subject of the preceding Chapter, it will be necessary to add this Observation, that all those judicial Acts were exerted in and by every single Parish, every particular Church having Power to exercise Discipline on her own Members, without the Concurrence of other Churches; else in those places where there might be but one Church for several Miles round, which we may reasonably suppose, the Members of that Church must have travelled several, if not Scores of Miles, to have had the consent of other Churches, for the punishment of their Offenders: But there is no need to make this Supposition, since it was decreed by an *African* Synod,

nod, ¹ that every one's Cause should be heard where the Crime was committed, because that to every Pastor was committed a particular Portion of Christ's Flock, which he was particularly to rule and govern, and to render an account thereof unto the Lord. And so another African Synod, that decreed the Re-baptization of those that were Baptized by Hereticks; thus conclude their Synodical Epistle to Pope Stephen, who held the contrary, ² Whereas we know that some Bishops will not relinquish an Opinion, which they have embraced, but keeping the Bond of Peace and Concord with their Colleagues, will retain some proper and peculiar Sentiments, which they have formerly received; to these we offer no violence, or prescribe any Law, since every Bishop has in the Administration of his Church, free liberty to follow his own Will, being to render an account of his Actions unto the Lord.

¹ Statutum sit omnibus nobis, & æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut unius cujusque causa illic audiat, ubi est crimen admissum, & singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque & gubernationem sui actus Domino redditurus. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 55. S. 16. p. 142.*

² Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter Collegas pacis & concordie vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere, qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesie administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 72. S. 3. p. 217.*

After these two Synodical Determinations, it might be thought needless to produce the

single Testimony of *Cyprian*, but that it shews us not only the Practice of the Bishops of his

3 *Apud antecessores nostros quidam de Episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt & in totum pœnitentiæ locum contra adulteria clauserunt, non tamen a Co-episcoporum suorum collegio recesserunt, aut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem vel duritiæ vel censuræ suæ obstinatione ruperunt, ut quia apud alios adulteris pax dabatur, qui non dabat de Ecclesia separaretur, manente concordie vinculo & perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo Sacramento, actum suum disponit & dirigit unusquisque Episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. Epist. 52. S. 13. p. 118.*

Age, but also of their Predecessors. 3 *Amongst the ancient Bishops of our Province, saith he, some thought that no Peace was to be given to Adulterers, for ever excluding them from the Communion of the Church; but yet they did not leave their Fellow-Bishops, or for this break the Unity of the Catholick Church; and those that gave Peace to Adulterers, did not therefore separate from those that did not, but still retaining the Bond of Concord, every Bishop disposed and directed his own Acts, rendring an account of them unto the Lord.*

Thus every Church was in this Sense independent; that is, without the Concurrence and Authority of any other Church; it had a sufficient Right and Power in its self, to punish and chastise all its delinquent and offending Members.

§. 2. But yet in another Sense it was dependent, as considered with other Churches, as

4 *Cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra*

part of the Church Universal, 4 *There is but one Church of Christ, saith Cyprian,*

Cyprian, divided through the whole World into many Members, and one Episcopacy diffused through the numerous Concord of many

divisa, item episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordia numero- sitate diffusus. Epist. 52. § 13. p. 118.

Bishops. A Particular Church was not the whole Church of Christ, but only a Part or Member of the Universal one ; and as one Member of the natural Body hath a regard to all the other Members thereof, so a particular Church, which was but one Member of the Universal, had relation and respect to the other Members thereof. Hence tho' the Labours and Inspections of the Bishops were more peculiarly confined to their own Parishes, yet as Ministers of the Church Universal, they employed a general kind of Inspection over other Churches also, observing their Condition and Circumstances, and giving unto them an account of their own state and posture ; as *Cyprian* inspected that of *Arles*, giving this as his Reason for it, that

s altho' they were many Pastors, yet they were but one Flock, and they ought to congregate and cherish all the Sheep, which Christ redeemed by his Blood and Passion. And the Clergy of the Church of

s Nam etsi pastores multi sumus unum tamen gregem pascimus, & oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo & passione quæsit, colligere & fovere debemus. Epist. 67. §. 6. p. 199.

Rome thanked *Cyprian*, that he had acquainted them with the state of the Church in *Africa* ; for say they, ⁶ *We ought all*

pro corpore totius Ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare. Apud Cyp. Epist. 30. §. 4. p. 67.

of us to take care of the Body of the whole Church, whose Members are distended through various Provinces. If the Bishop of one Church had any difficult Point to determine, he sent to another Bishop for his Advice and Decision thereof. As when *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* had a critical Cause to determine, he sent to *Xystus* Bi-

⁷ Καὶ ὁ ὄντως ἀδελφὸς
συμβουλῆς δεόμεναι, καὶ γνώ-
μιωται τῷ θεῷ οὐκ. Apud
Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 9. p.
254.

the Martyrs, *Cyprian*
Rome for their Advice

⁸ Et dilectio communis
& ratio exposcit, fratres
charissimi, nihil consci-
entiae vestrae subtrahere
de his quae apud nos ge-
runtur, ut sit nobis cir-
ca utilitatem ecclesiasti-
cae administrationis com-
mune consilium. *Epist.*
29. p. 66.

shop of *Rome*, ⁷ to know
his Opinion and Counsel
therein. And so when
there was some diffe-
rence at *Carthage* about
the *Pacificatory Libels* of
writ to the Church of
therein. For, saith he,
⁸ Dearly beloved Bre-
thren, both common Rea-
son and Love require, that
none of these things that
are transacted here, should
be kept from your Know-
ledge, but that we should
have your Counsel about
Ecclesiastical Administra-
tions. In these, and in

many other such like Cases, which would be
needless to enumerate, there was a Correspon-
dence between the particular Churches of the
Universal one.

§. 3. But that that chiefly deserves our Con-
sideration, was their Intercourse and Govern-
ment by Synodical Assemblies, that is, by a
Convocation of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons,
and Deputed Lay-men of several particular
Churches, who frequently met together to
maintain

maintain Unity, Love and Concord, to advise about their common Circumstances and Conditions, to regulate all Ecclesiastical or Church-Affairs within their respective Limits, and to manage other such like things, of which I shall more largely treat in the end of this Chapter.

That which must be spoken of in this Section is, the several kinds or sorts of Synods, the most august and supreme kind whereof, was an Universal or Oecumenical Synod, which was a Congregation of the Bishops and Deputies of as many Churches as would please to come from all Parts of the World: Of this sort I find but one within my limited space of the first three Hundred Years after Christ, and that was

the ⁹ Council of *Antioch*,
that condemned *Paulus*
Samosatenus. Or if this

⁹ Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap.
30. p. 279.

will not pass for a General Council, there was no such one before that of *Nice*, which was held *Anno* 325. and so there was no one of this kind within that time to which I am confined.

But those Synods, which were very frequent within my prescribed time, were Provincial Synods, that is, as many particular Churches as could conveniently and orderly associate themselves together, and by their common Consent and Authority dispose and regulate all things that related to their Polity, Unity, Peace, and Order. What extent of Ground, or how many particular Churches each of such Synods did contain, cannot be determined; their Precincts were not alike in all places, but according as their Circumstances and Conveniencies

would permit ; so they formed themselves into these Synodical Assemblies , and were governed in common by those Synods, who were called the Synods of such or such a Province: As we

¹ Coepiscopis nostris in eadem provincia constitutis. *Epist.* 67. §. 1. p. 198.

² In provincia nostra. *Epist.* 52. §. 13. p. 118.

³ Per provinciam nostram. *Epist.* 42. §. 2. p. 99.

⁴ Per provinciam. *Epist.* 55. §. 18. p. 143.

⁵ Latius fusa est nostra provincia. *Epist.* 45. §. 2. p. 103.

⁶ Apud nos & fere per provincias universas tenetur ; ut—ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur Episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique convenient. *Epist.* 68. §. 6. p. 202.

read in *Cyprian*, of the ¹ Province of Arles , and the Bishops therein. And *Cyprian* frequently speaks of the Bishops of his Province, as the Bishops ² in our Province, and ³ throughout our Province , and ⁴ throughout the Province : And tells us, that ⁵ his Province was very large , and that it was ⁶ the custom of his Province, and almost all other Provinces, that upon the Vacancy of a Parish ; the neighbouring Bishops of that Province should meet together at that Parish to Ordain them a new Bishop.

§. 4. How often these Provincial Synods were convened, is uncertain, since that varied according to their Circumstances, and their respective Customs. *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* writes, that in his Province

⁷ Per singulos annos in unum conveniamus. *Apud Cypr.* *Epist.* 75. §. 3. p. 236.

⁷ they met every Year. And whosoever will consider the frequent Synods that are mentioned in *Cyprian*, will find that in his

his Province they met at least once, and sometimes twice or thrice a Year.

§. 5. As for the Members that composed these Synods, they were Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and Deputed Lay-men in behalf of the People of their respective Churches. Thus at that great Synod of *Antioch*, that condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*, there

were present ⁸ Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the Churches of God, that is, Lay-men that represented the People of their

⁸ Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ διάκονοι, καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησιαὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. Ex Epist. Synod. apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 30. p. 279.

several Churches. So also we read in an ancient Fragment in *Eusebius*, that when the Heresy of the *Montanists* was fix'd and preach'd,

⁹ the Faithful in Asia met together several times to examine it, and upon examination condemned it.

⁹ Τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν εἰς τὸ ποτε συνελθόντων, &c. Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 181.

So also when there were some Heats in the Church of *Carthage* about the Restitution of the Lapsed, *Cyprian* writes from his Exile, that the Lapsed should be patient till God had restored Peace to the Church, and

then there should ¹ be convened a Synod of Bishops, and of the Laity who had stood firm during the Persecution, to consult about, and determine their Affairs. Which Proposition

¹ Ut Episcopi plures in unum convenientes, præsente & stantium plebe—disponere omnia consilii communis religione possumus. Epist. 14. §. 2. p. 41.

on was approved by *Moses* and *Maximus*, and other Roman Confessors, who liked the consulting

ing

² Consultis omnibus Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconibus, Confessoribus, & ipsis stantium Laicis. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 26. § 4. p. 60.*

³ Collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus, pariter ac stantibus Laicis facta, lapsorum tractare rationem. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 31. §. 5. p. 70.*

⁴ Episcopi plurimis — cum Presbyteris & Diaconibus, præsente etiam plebis maxima parte. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 443.*

ity and Appointment Synods were assembled. To this it will be replied, That it must necessarily have been by their own, because in those Days there was no Christian Magistrate to order or determine those Affairs.

§. 7. When a Synod was convened, before ever they entred upon any Publick Causes, they chose out of the gravest and renownedst Bishops amongst them, one, or sometimes two, to be their Moderator or Moderators; as at the

⁵ *Act. Concil. Carthag. ad calcem Oper. Cypr.*

ing ² of a Synod of Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, and the standing Laity, as also did the whole Body of the Clergy of the Church of Rome, who were willing, that that Affair ³ of the Lapsed should be determined by the common Counsel of the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Confessors, and the standing Laity. And thus at that great Council held at Carthage, Anno 258. there were present Eighty Seven ⁴ Bishops, together with Presbyters, Deacons, and a great part of the Laity.

§. 6. If it shall be demanded by whose Authority and Appointment Synods were assembled. To this it will be replied, That it must necessarily have been by their own, because in those Days there was no Christian Magistrate to order or determine those Affairs.

§. 7. When a Synod was convened, before ever they entred upon any Publick Causes, they chose out of the gravest and renownedst Bishops amongst them, one, or sometimes two, to be their Moderator or Moderators; as at the Council held at Carthage, Anno 258, ⁵ Cyprian was Moderator or Prolocutor thereof.

thereof. And so we read of the Prolocutors of several Synods, that were assembled in divers Parts of the World, to determine the Controversies concerning *Ea-*
ster: As ⁶ *Victor Bishop*
of Rome was Prolocutor
of a Synod held there. *Palmas Bishop of Ama-*
stris, Moderator of a Synod held in Pontus; and
Irenæus Bishop of Lyons of another in France.

⁶ Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 190, 191.

⁷ *Polycrates Bishop of E-*
phesus presided over a Sy-
nod of Asiatick Bishops;
 and ⁸ *at a Convocation in*
Palestina there were two

⁷ Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 191.

⁸ Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23. p. 190.

Moderators, viz. Theophilus Bishop of Cæsarea,
and Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem. The Office
 and Duty of a Moderator was to preside in the
 Synod, to see all things calmly and fairly deba-
 ted and decreed; and at the conclusion of any
 Cause, to sum up what had been debated and
 urged on both sides, to take the Votes and Suf-
 frages of the Members of the Synod; and last
 of all, to give his own. All this is evident in
 the Proceedings of the Council of *Carthage*,
 which are extant at the end of *Cyprian's Works*.
Cyprian being Moderator of that Council; af-
 ter all things were read and finished relating to
 the Question in hand, sums up all, telling the
 Synod what they had heard, and that nothing
 more remained to be done, but the Declaration
 of their Judgment thereupon. Accordingly
 thereunto the Bishops gave their respective
 Votes and Decisions; and last of all *Cyprian*, as
 President, gave in his.

§. 8. When the Moderator was chosen, then they entred upon the Consideration of the Affairs that lay before them, which may be consider'd in a two-fold Respect, either as relating to foreign Churches, or to those Churches only of whom they were the Representatives. As for foreign Churches, their Determinations were not obligatory unto them, because they were not represented by them; and so the chiefest Matter they had to do with them, was to give them their Advice and Counsel in any difficult Point, which they had proposed to them; as when the People of *Astorga* and *Emerita* in *Spain* had written to some *African* Churches for their Advice, what to do with their two Bishops, who had lapsed in Times of Persecution. This Case was debated in a Synod held *Anno* 258, whose Opinion thereupon is to be seen in their Synodical Epistle, extant at large amongst the Works of *Cyprian*. *Epist.* 68. p. 200.

§. 9. But with respect unto those particular Churches, whose Representatives they were, their Decrees were binding and obligatory, since the Regulation and Management of their Affairs was the general End of their Convening.

Various and many were the particular Ends of these Synodical Conventions, as for the prevention of Injustice and Partiality in a Parish Consistory: As suppose, that such a Consistory had wrongfully and unrighteously censured one of their Members, what should that censured Person do, unless appeal to the Synod to have his Cause heard there, as *Felicissimus* did, who after he was excommunicated by his own
Parish,

Parish, of which Cyprian was Bishop, ⁶ had his Cause heard before a Synod, who ratified and confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication against him.

And therefore we may suppose it to be for the prevention of Partiality and Injustice; that in Lesser Asia ⁷ Offenders were usually absolved by the Synod, which met every Year. Synods also were assembled for the examining, condemning, and

excommunicating of all Hereticks within their Limits, that so the faithful might avoid and shun them: As Paulus Samosatenus was condemned by the ⁸ Council of Antioch, for resolving of all difficult Points that did

not wound the Essentials of Religion, or had relation unto the Discipline of the Church, as when there was some Scruple about the Time of baptizing of Children,

a ⁹ Synod of Sixty Six Bishops met together to decide it. And so when there were some Disputes concerning the Martyrs Power to restore the Lapsed, ¹ Synods were to be assembled to decide them. But why do I go about to reckon up Particulars, when as they are endless? Let this suffice in general, that Synods

⁶ Literas ad te collegæ nostri manu sua subscriptas miserunt, qui auditis eis, quid fenserint, & quid pronunciaverint, eorum literis discas. Cyp. Epist. 42. S. 5. p. 99.

prevention of Partiality

⁷ Per singulos annos conveniamus — ut lapsis fratribus per pœnitentiam medela quærat. Firmil. apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. S. 3. p. 236.

⁸ Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 279.

⁹ Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. p. 162.

¹ In unum convenientes — disponere omnia possumus. Apud Cypr. Epist. 14. S. 2. p. 41.

nods were convened for the Regulation and Management of all Ecclesiastical Affairs within their respective Jurisdictions, as *Firmilian*

² *Ut per singulos annos seniores & præpositi in unum conveniamus ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. S. 3. p. 236.*

writes, that in his Country ² *the Bishops and Presbyters met together every Year, to dispose those Things which were committed to their Charge.* Here they

consulted about the Discipline, Government, and External Polity of their Churches, and what Means were expedient and proper for their Peace, Unity and Order, which by their common Consent they enacted and decreed to be observed by all the Faithful of those Churches whom they did represent.

He who denies this, must be very little acquainted with the ancient Councils, especially those which were held after the Emperors became Christians. The Reason why we find not more Synodical Decrees of the three first Centuries, comes not, from that they judicially determined none, or required not the Observance of them; but from that, either they were not careful, or the Fury and Violence of the Times would not permit them to transmit them down to their Successors; or through the Length of Time they are lost, and scarce any Thing besides the Names of such Synods are now remembered; and of Multitudes, neither Names nor Decrees are to be found: But yet there is enough escap'd the Fury of Persecution, and the Length of Time, to convince us, that those Synods did decree those Things, which they judg-
ed

ed expedient for the Polity, Discipline and Government of those particular Churches, that were within their respective Provinces, and required them to be observed by all the Members thereof.

Thus we find these following Canons determined by several Synods in *Africa*, viz.

³ That though a Delinquent had not endured the whole time of Penance, yet if he was very sick, and in danger of Death, he should be absolved.

⁴ That at the Approach of a Persecution, penitent Offenders should be restored to the Churches Peace.

⁵ That Penance should not be hastily passed over, or Absolution be rashly and speedily given.

⁶ That all lapsed and apostate Clergymen, should upon their Repentance, be only admitted to Communion as Lay-men, and be never more capable of discharging or performing any Ecclesiastical Function.

⁷ That no Clergyman should be a Curator or Trustee of a last Will or Testament.

³ Statueramus — Si periculum infirmitatis urgeret, pacem sub icetu mortis acciperent. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 54. S. 1. p. 132.*

⁴ Censuimus — Pacem dandam esse, & eos ad prælium, quod imminet, armari & instrui oportere. *Ibidem.*

⁵ Ante legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis — pax ei consideretur. *Cyprian. Epist. 59. S. 1. p. 164.*

⁶ Decreverit ejusmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendum posse admitti, ab Ordinatione autem Cleri atque Sacerdotali honore prohiberi. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. S. 7. p. 202.*

⁷ Statutum sit, ne quis de Clericis & Dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 66. S. 1. p. 195.*

And

And many other such like Synodical Decrees relating to the Discipline and Polity of the Church, are to be met with in *Cyprian*, which were ever accounted Obligatory to all those Parishes who lived within those respective Provinces, and had their Representatives in those respective Synods; for to what purpose else did they decree them, if it had been fruitless and ridiculous to have made frequent and wearisom Journeys, with great Cost and Pains, to have debated and determined those Things, which they judged expedient for the Churches Well-being, if after all, it was indifferent, whether they were obeyed, or not?

But that their Decrees were binding, is adjudged by an *African* Synod of Sixty Six Bi-

⁸ Victori antequam pœnitentiam plenam egisset, temerè Therapius, pacem dederit, quæ res nos satis mover, recessum esse à decreti nostri auctoritate. *Apud Cypr. Epist.* 59. S. I. p. 164.

shops, held Anno 254, ⁸ who sharply rebuked a certain Bishop called Therapius, for breaking the Canons of a Synod, in absolving a certain Presbyter called Victor, before the time appointed by that Syn-

nod was expired. Probably the Breaker of those Canons was to have been Deposed or Suspended, or some other severe Punishment inflicted on him, since the Bishops of this Synod speak as if they had moderated the Rigour of the Ca-

⁹ Satisfuit objurgare Therapium — quod temere hoc fecerit, & instruxisse ne quid tale de cætero faciat. *Ibidem.*

nons against *Therapius*, in that they ⁹ were contented only with chiding him for his Rashness, and with strictly charging him, that he should do so no more.

So another Synod in *Africa* decreed, that
 1 if any one should name
 a *Clergy-man* in his last
Will and Testament for his
Trustee, no *Sacrifice* should
 be offered for him after his
Death. (What the mean-
 ing of this Offering of
Sacrifice after his *Death*
 is, I shall not shew here,

1 Censuerunt ne quis
 frater excedens, ad tute-
 lam vel curam Clericum
 nominaret, ac si quis hoc
 fecisset, non offerretur
 pro eo, nec Sacrificium
 pro dormitione ejus cele-
 braretur. *Apud Cypr. E-
 pist. 66. § 2. p. 195.*

since I must treat of it in another Place.) Ac-
 cordingly when *Geminus Victor* Bishop of *Fur-
 nis* had by his last Will and Testament constitu-
 ted *Geminus Faustinus* a *Presbyter*, his *Trustee*,
Cyprian Bishop of *Carthage*, writ unto the Cler-
 gy and Laity of *Furnis* touching this Matter,
 wherein he informsthem

2 That he and his Col-
 leagues were very much of-
 fended that *Geminus Vi-
 ctor* had thus broke the
Canons of the Synod; but
 that since he had done it,
 he hoped they would take
 care that he should suffer
 the Penalty annexed to the
Breach thereof, that in
Conformity thereunto they
 would not mention him in
 their *Prayers*, or make any
Oblation for him, that so
 the Decree of the Bishops,
 which was religiously and necessarily made, might
 be observed by them.

2 Graviter commoti su-
 mus ego & collegæ mei
 & ideo Victor, cum con-
 tra formam nuper in
 concilio à Sacerdotibus
 datum, Geminium Fau-
 stinum Presbyterum au-
 sus sit tutorem constitu-
 ere, non est quod pro
 dormitione ejus apud
 vos fiat oblatio, aut de-
 precatio aliqua nomine
 ejus in Ecclesia frequen-
 tetur, ut Sacerdotum de-
 cretum religiose & ne-
 cessariè factum servetur à
 nobis. *Ibidem, § 1, 2. p.
 195.*

To these two Instances we may add that of *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, who for their falling into Idolatry in Times of Persecution, were deprived of their Ecclesiastical Functions, and adjudged never more to be admitted to the Church's Communion in any other Quality than that of Laymen; which rigorous Sentence an *African Synod* defends,

³ *Maximè cum jampridem decretum est, ejusmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam posse admitti, ab ordinatione autem cleri atque sacerdotali honore prohiberi. Apud Cypr. Ep. 68. §. 8. p. 202.*

³ *from the Authority of a General Council, who had before decreed, that such Men should only be admitted to Repentance, but be for ever excluded from all Clerical and Sacerdotal Dignities.*

C H A P. IX.

§. 1. *Of the Unity of the Church: Of Schism, defined to be a Breach of that Unity. The Unity of the Church, and consequently the Breach of it to be differently understood, according to the various Significations of the Word Church. §. 2. The Unity of the Church Universal considered Negatively and Positively; Negatively, it consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites, nor in an Unanimity of Consent to the non-essential Points of Christianity. The Rigid Imposers thereof condemned as Cruel and Tyrannical. §. 3. Positively, it consisted in an harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Faith. The Non-agreement*

ment therein called Schism, but not the Schism of the Ancients. §. 4. How the Unity of a Church Collective was broken; this neither the Schism of the Ancients. §. 5. The Unity of a particular Church consisted in two Things, in the Members Love and Amity each towards other, and in the People's close Adherence to their Bishop, or Parish-Church: The Breach of the former (sometimes called Schism. §. 6. The Breach of the latter, which was a causeless Separation from their Bishop; the Schism of the Ancients. In how many Cases it was lawful for the People to separate from their Bishop. §. 7. A Separation under any other Pre- tence whatsoever, was that which the Fathers generally and principally meant by Schism, proved so to have been. §. 8. Farther proved from Ignati- us. §. 9. Exemplified in the Schism of Felicissimus and Novatian. §. 10. An Objection an- swered touching the Schism of Novatian. How the Schism of one particular Church affected other Churches. §. 11. A Summary and Conclusion of this Discourse concerning Schism.

§. I. **H**AVING in the precedent Chapters dis- coursed of the Constitution and Disci- pline of the Primitive Church, I come now in this to treat of the Unity thereof; which I had a very great Inclination to search into, since by the due understanding thereof we shall the bet- ter apprehend the Notion of the Ancients con- cerning Schism, because that Schism is nothing else but a Breach of that Unity, as will most evidently appear from the Quotations that we shall be forced to make use of in this Chapter.

Now that we may know what the Breach of the Unity of the Church was, it is absolutely necessary first to know what the Unity it self was; for till we understand its Unity, it is impossible that we should understand the Breach thereof.

Now for the distinct apprehending hereof, we must remember the various Acceptations of the Word Church, as they are related in the beginning of this Treatise; and according to the different Significations thereof, so must its Unity be diversified, or be differently understood; and according to the different Manner of its Unity, so must we apprehend the Breach thereof.

§. 2. If in the first Place we reflect upon the Word *Church*, as signifying the Church Universal, or all those, who throughout the whole Earth profess Faith in Christ, then we may consider its Unity in this Sense either Negatively, wherein it did not consist; or Positively, wherein it did consist.

Negatively, It consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites and Customs: For every particular Church was at liberty to follow its own proper Usages: One Church was not obliged to observe the Rites of another, but every one followed its own peculiar Customs. Thus with respect to their Fast before *Easter*, there was a great Diversity in the Observation of it, *in some Churches they*

⁴ *Οι μὴ γὰρ ὄνουνται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτὰς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τριακοντα ἄρα ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτερινῶν συμμετρήσει τῶν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν πάντες ἔτι εἰρήνωσαν ἢ διαφορία τῆ νηστείας τῶν ὁμόνοιαν τῆ πίστεως συνίστησι.* Iren. apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.

fasted

fasted one Day, in others two, in some more, and in others forty Hours, but yet still they retained Peace and Concord; the Diversity of their Customs commending the Unity of their Faith. So also the Feast of Easter its self was variously celebrated. The Asiatick Churches kept it on a distinct Day from the Europeans, but yet still they retained

Peace and Love, and for the Diversity of such Customs, none were ever cast out of the Communion of the Church. So likewise writes Firmilian, ⁶ That in most Provinces their Rites were varied according to the Diversities of Names and Places; and that for this no one ever departed from the Peace and Unity of the Catholick

⁵ Εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ ἐδέποτε διατὸ εἶδ' ὅτι τὸ ἀπεβλήθησαν πινες. Idem Ibidem.

⁶ In plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesie Catholicae pace atque unitate aliquando dislessum est. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. S. 5. p. 237.

Church. So that the Unity of the Church Universal consisted not in an Uniformity of Rites and Usages.

Neither in the next Place did it consist in an Unanimity of Consent to the Non-essential Points of Christianity, but every one was left to believe in those lesser Matters, as God should inform him. Therefore Justin Martyr speaking of those Jewish Converts, who had adhered to the Mosaical Rites, says, that if they did this only through their Weakness and Imbecillity, and did not persuade other Christians to the Observance of the same Judaical Customs, that ⁷ he would

ἄνωγειν ἀπάντων ὡς ὁμοσπλάγχθοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς δεῖν. Diaplog. cum Tryphon. p. 266.

⁷ Περσλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κοινωεῖν ἀπάντων ὡς ὁμοσπλάγχθοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς δεῖν. Δια-
L 3 receive

156 *The Constitution, Discipline, &c.*

receive them into Church-fellowship and Communion.

Whosoever imposed on particular Churches the observance of the former of these two things, or on particular Persons the belief of the latter, they were esteemed not as Preservers and Maintainers, but as Violaters and Breakers of the Churches Unity and Concord.

An Instance of the former we have in that Controversy between the Churches of the *East* and *West*, touching the time when *Easter* was to be celebrated. For when *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* had Excommunicated the *Eastern* Churches, because they continued to observe that Feast on a different time from the Churches of the *West*, not only the Bishops of the adverse Party, but even those of his own side condemned him as rash, heady, and turbulent, and writ several Letters about this Affair, wherein as the Historian writes, ⁸ they most

⁸ Πλῆθειώτερον καὶ δεινότερον. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 193.

sharply censured him.

As for the Latter, we have an Instance thereof in the Controversy that was between *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, touching the Validity of Hereticks Baptism: For when *Stephen* Anathematized *Cyprian*, because he held the Baptism of Hereticks to be null and void, other Bishops condemned *Stephen* as a Breaker and Disturber of the Churches Peace. And amongst others, *Firmilian* a *Cappadocian* Bishop, vehemently accuses him as such, because that he would impose upon others the Belief of such a disputable Point, which, says he, was never wonted to be done, but

⁹ every

every Church followed their own different ways; and never therefore broke the Unity and Peace of the Catholick Church, which now, saith he, Stephen dares to do, and breaks that Peace which the ancient Bishops always preserved in mutual Love and Honour. And therefore

we find in the Acts of that great Council of Carthage convened to determine this matter, that when Cyprian summ'd up the Debates thereof, he dehorts his Fellow-Bishops from the imposing Humour and Temper of Stephen, ¹ It now remains, saith he, that every one of us declare our Judgments concerning this matter, judging no Man, or removing any one from our Communion, if he think otherwise than we do; for let none of us make himself a Bishop of Bishops, or by a Tyrannical Terror, compel his Colleagues to the necessity of obeying. So that the forcing a Belief

9 Multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. Quod nunc Stephanus ausus est facere, rumpens adversum vos pacem, quam semper antecessores ejus vobiscum amore & honore mutuo custodierunt.

¹ Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit amoventes. Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 443.

in these lesser matters was Cruelty and Tyranny in the Imposers thereof, who for such unreasonable Practices were look'd upon as Enemies to, and Violaters of the Churches Concord, being the true Schismatics, inasmuch as they

were the Cause of Schism and Division ; unto whom therefore may be applyed that Saying of

² *Judicabit eos qui Schismata operantur, qui sunt immanes, non habentes Dei dilectionem, suamque utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem Ecclesiæ, propter modicas & quassibet causas magnum & gloriosum corpus Christi conscindunt & dividunt, & quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt, pacem loquentes, & bellum operantes, verè liquantes culicem & camelum transglutientes.*
Lib. 4. cap. 62. p. 292.

Irenæus, ² That at the last Day Christ shall judge those who cause Schisms, who are inhumane, not having the fear of God, but preferring their own advantage before the Unity of the Church, for trivial and slight Causes rend and divide the great and glorious Body of Christ, and as much as in them lies, destroy it ; who speak Peace, but wage War, truly straining at a Gnat, and swallowing a Camel.

§. 3. But Positively, The Unity of the Church Universal consisted in an Harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Religion, or in an Unanimous Agreement in the Fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine. Thus *Irenæus* having recited a Creed, or a short Summary of the Christian Faith, not much unlike to the Apostles Creed, immediately adds,

³ *Hanc igitur prædicationem & hanc fidem adepta Ecclesia, quamvis dispersa in universo mundo diligenter conservat, acsi in una eademque domo habitaret : Ac similiter iis fidem habet, acsi unam animam unumque & idem cor haberet : atque uno consensu hæc prædicat, docet ac tra-*

³ *The Church having received this Faith and Doctrine, although dispersed through the whole World, diligently preserves it, as tho' she inhabited but one House ; and accordingly she believes these things, as tho' she had but one Soul and one Heart, and consonantly*

sonantly preaches and teaches these things, as tho' she had but one Mouth; for altho' there are various Languages in the World, yet the Doctrine is one and the same; so that the Churches in Germany, France, Asia, Ægypt or Lybia, have not a different Faith; but as the Sun is one and the same to all the Creatures of God in the whole World; so the Preaching of the Word is a Light that enlightens every where, and illuminates all Men that would come to the knowledge of the Truth. Now this Bond

of Unity was broken, when there was a Recession from, or a Corruption of the true Faith and Doctrine; as *Irenæus* speaks concerning *Tatian* the Father of the *Encratides*, that as long as his Master *Justin Martyr* lived, he held the sound Faith, but after his Death ¹ falling off from the Church, he shaped that new Form of Doctrine. This Unity of the Church in Doctrine, according to *Hegesippus*, continued till the Days of *Simeon Cleopas* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was Martyred under *Trajan*; but after that false Teachers prevailed, such as the *Simonians*, *Marcionists*, *Valentinians*,

dit, acsi uno ore prædita esset. Quamvis enim dissimilia sint in mundo genera linguarum, una tamen eademque est vis traditionis; nec quæ constitutæ sunt in Germania Ecclesiæ aliter credunt aut tradunt, nec quæ in Hispaniis, neque in Galliis, neque in Oriente, neque in Ægypto, neque in Lybia, aut in medio orbis terrarum fundatæ sunt. Sed quemadmodum Sol creatura Dei unus & idem est in universo mundo, ita & prædicatio veritatis ubique lucet, & illuminat omnes homines qui ad notionem veritatis venire volunt. *Lib. 1. cap. 3. p. 36.*

¹ Ἀποσὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 29. p. 150.

Ἐκ τῶν ἑσθλῶν Ἰδὸς ἄλλοι, Ἰδὸς ἀποστόλοι, οἵτινες ἐμέειπαν τῷ ἑνωσῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθορῶν μαίσις λόγοις καὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ἀπὸ τῶν. Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 22. p. 143.

and others, ⁵ from whom sprung false Christs, false Apostles, and false Prophets, who by their corrupt Doctrines against God and his Christ, divided the Unity of the Church. So that the Unity of the

Church Universal consisted in an agreement of Doctrine, and the Corruption of that Doctrine was a Breach of that Unity, and whoever so broke it, are said to divide and separate the Unity of the Church, or which is all one, to be Schismaticks. So *Irenæus* writes, that those that

⁵ Scindunt & separant unitatem Ecclesiæ. Lib. 4. cap. 43. p. 278.

⁷ Diabolus Hæreses invenit & Schismata, quibus subverteret fidem, veritatem corrumperet, scinderet unitatem. De Unitate Ecclesiæ, §. 2. p. 296.

introduced new Doctrines, ⁶ did divide and separate the Unity of the Church. And *Cyprian* writes, that ⁷ the Devil found out Heresies and Schisms, by which he might subvert the Faith, corrupt the Truth, and divide the Unity. But now for Distinctions sake the Breach

of this Unity was commonly called Heresy, and the word *Schism* generally applyed to the Breach of the Churches Unity in another sense; of which more in the other Sections.

§. 4. If in the next place we consider the Word *Church* collectively, as denoting a Collection of many particular Churches, in which

⁸ In provincia Africa & Numidia Ecclesiam Domini. Epist. 71. §. 4. p. 214.

Sense it is once used in ⁸ *Cyprian*: Then its Unity may have consisted

in a Brotherly Correspondence with, and Affection toward each other, which they demonstrated by all outward Expressions of Love and Concord, as by receiving to Communion the Members of each other, as ⁹ *Irenæus* mentions, ⁹ Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193. was observ'd between the Churches of *Rome* and *Asia*, in mutually advising and assisting one another by Letters, or otherwise; of which there are frequent Instances in the Ancients, and especially in *Cyprian's* Epistles, and in manifesting all other Marks and Tokens of their Love and Concord. Now this Unity was broken, when Particular Churches clash'd with each other, when from being possess'd with Spirits of Meekness, Love and Charity, they were inflamed with Hatred, Rage and Fury against each other. A sad Instance whereof we have in the Controversy betwixt *Cyprian* and *Stephen*, or rather between the Churches of *Europe* and *Africa*, touching the Validity of Heretical Baptism, wherein those good Men were so far transported with Bitterness and Rancour against each other, that they interchangeably gave such harsh Language and invidious Epithets, as are too odious to name; which if the Reader be curious to know, he may find too much of it in *Cyprian's* Epistles.

Or if several particular Churches had for the promotion of Peace, Unity and Order, regularly disposed themselves into a Synodical Government and Discipline, as was always done when their Circumstances and Conveniences would permit them; then whoever broke or violated

violated their reasonable Canons, were censured as turbulent and factious, as it hath been evidenced in the former Chapter, and needs no farther Proof in this, because that the Schism of the Ancients was not a Breach of the Churches Unity in this Sense, *viz.* as denoting or signifying a Church Collective.

§. 5. But Schism principally and originally respected a particular Church or Parish, tho' it might consequentially influence others too. Now the Unity of a particular Church consisted in the Members Love and Amity toward each other, and in their due Subjection or Subordination to their Pastor or Bishop: Accordingly the Breach of that Unity consisted in these two things, either in a Hatred and Malice of each other, or in a Rebellion against their Lawful Pastor, or which is all one, in a causeless Separation from their Bishop, and those that adhered to him.

As for the first of these, there might be Envy and Discords between the Inhabitants of a Parish, without a formal Separation from Communion, which Jars and Feuds were called Schism; an Instance whereof we find in the Church of *Corinth*, unto whom St. Paul objected in 1. Cor. II. 18. *When ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be Divisions*, or as it is in the Original, *ἁμαρται*, *Schisms amongst you*. Here there was no separate Communion, for they all came together in the Church, and yet there were Schisms amongst them, that is, Strifes, Quarrels and Discords. And as far as I can perceive from the Epistle of *Clemens Romanus*, which was writ to appease another Schism

Schism in the same Church of *Corinth*, there were then only Turmoils and Differences, without any actual Separation. But on this I shall not enlarge, because it is not what the Ancients ordinarily meant by Schism.

§. 6. But that which they generally and commonly termed Schism, was a Rebellion against, or an ungrounded and causeless Separation from their Lawful Pastor, or their Parish-Church. Now because I say, that a causeless Separation from their Bishop was Schism, it will be necessary to know how many Causes could justify the Peoples Desertion of their Pastor; and these I think were two, or at most three; the first was Apostacy from the Faith, or when a Bishop renounced the Christian Faith, and through fear of Persecution embraced the Heathenish Idolatries, as was done in the case of ¹ *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, and was justified by an *African* Synod, as is to be seen throughout their whole Synodical Epistle, still extant amongst those of *Cyprian's*. The second Cause was Heresie, as *Irenæus* saith, ² *We must fly far off from all Hereticks*. And *Origen* allows the People to separate from their Bishop, ³ *if they could accuse him of false and Heretical Doctrine*.

¹ *Basilidem & Martialem libellis Idololatriæ commaculatos — Episcopatum gerere, & Sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere. Epist. Synod. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 1. p. 200.*

² *Oportet longe fugere ab eis. Lib. 1. cap. 13. P. 63.*

³ *Si habueris accusationem doctrinæ pessimæ, & alienorum ab Ecclesia Dogmatum. Homil. 7. in Ezechiel.*

A third Cause was a scandalous and wicked Life, as is asserted by an *African Synod* held *Anno 258.* whose Exhortations and Arguments to this purpose may be seen at large in their Synodical Epistle, still extant in *Cyprian, Epist. 68.* p. 200. out of which several Passages pertinent to this occasion, have been already cited in the sixth Chapter of this Treatise, to which I must refer the Reader. Of this mind also was *Ire-*

⁴ Qui vero Presbyteri serviunt suis voluptatibus, & non præponunt timorem Dei in cordibus suis, sed contumeliosius agunt reliquos, & principalis confessionis tumore elati sunt, & in absconsis agunt mala—ab omnibus talibus abstinere oportet. *Lib. 4. cap. 44.* p. 278.

another mind, and thinks that the Bishops Immorality in Life could not justify his Parishes

⁵ Qui curam habet vitæ suæ, non meis delictis qui videor in Ecclesia prædicare scandalizabitur, sed ipsum dogma considerans, & pertractans Ecclesiæ fidem, à me quidem averfabitur, doctrinam verò suscipiet secundum præceptum Domini, qui ait, supra Cathedram Moyfi sederunt Scribæ & Pharisei, omnia enim quæcunque vo-

naeus before them, who writes, ⁴ *That as for those Presbyters, who serve their Pleasures, and have not the fear of God before their Eyes, who contumeliously use others, are lifted up with Pride, and secretly commit Wickedness, from all such Presbyters we ought to separate.* Origen indeed seems to be of a-

Separation, ⁵ *He, saith he, that hath a care of his Soul, will not be scandalized at my Faults, who am his Bishop, but considering my Doctrine, and finding it agreeable to the Churches Faith, from me indeed he will be averse, but he will receive my Doctrine according to the Precept of the Lord, which saith,*

The

The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses his Chair, whatever therefore they say unto you, hear, and do, but according unto their Works do not, for they say and do not: That Scripture is of me, who teach what is good, and do the contrary, and sit upon the Chair of Moses as a Scribe or Pharisee; the Precept is to thee, O People, if thou canst not accuse me of false Doctrine, or Heretical Opinions, but only beholdest my wicked and sinful Life; thou must not square thy Life according to my Life, but do those things which I speak.

bis dicunt audite & facite, juxta autem opera illorum nolite facere; dicunt quippe & non faciunt: iste sermo de me est, qui bona doceo, & contraria gero & sum sedens supra cathedram Moyſi quasi Scribi & Phariseus; præceptum tibi est, O popule, si non habueris accusationem Doctrinæ pessimæ, & alienorum ab Ecclesia dogmatum, conspexeris vero meam culpabilem vitam, atque peccata, ut non habeas juxta dicentis vitam tuam instituire, sed eo facere quæ loquor. *Homil. 7. in Ezechiel.*

Now whether *Irenæus*, or an *African Synod*, or *Origen* be to be most credited, I leave the Learned to judge; tho' I think they may be both nearer reconciled than they seem to be; *Irenæus* and that Synod affirming, that the People of their own Power and Authority might immediately, without the concurrent Assent of other Churches, upon the Immorality and Scandal of their Bishop, leave and desert him; *Origen* restraining the People from present Execution, till they had the Authority of a Synod for so doing; for thus he must be understood, or else he will contradict all other Writers, it being avouched by all, that Synods did depose all those Bishops that were guilty of criminal and scandalous Enormities,

as *Privatus* Bishop of *Lambese* was deposed by a Synod of Ninety Bishops, ⁶ for his many and heinous Crimes.

⁴ Ob multa & gravi delicta. *Cyprian. Epist. 55. S. 11. p. 140.*

§. 7. But now excepting these three Causes of Apostacy, Heresie and Immorality, it was Schism in a Parish to leave their Minister, or to set up another Bishop against him ; for tho' they at first chose their Bishop, yet their Bishop being on their Choice approved and confirmed by the neighbouring Bishops, they could not dethrone him, without truly assigning one of those forementioned Causes ; for this was to gather a Church out of a Church, to erect a new Altar and a new Bishop, which could not be in one Church;

² Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una supra Petrum Domini voce fundata ; aliud altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare & unum Sacerdotium non potest : Quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit, adulterum est, impium est, quodcunque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur. *Epist. 40. S. 4. p. 93.*

⁸ Neque enim aliunde nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex vice Christi cogitatur. *Epist. 55. S. 6. p. 138.*

for as *Cyprian* writes, ⁷ God is one, Christ is one, the Church is one, the Rock on which the Church is built is one ; wherefore to erect a new Altar, and constitute a new Bishop, besides the one Altar and the one Bishop, is impracticable ; whosoever gathers here, scatters ; so to do is adulterous, impious, sacrilegious, mad and wicked.

⁸ From hence, says *Cyprian*, Schisms do arise, that the Bishop is not obeyed ;

and

and it is not considered that there ought to be but one Bishop, and one Judge in a Church at a time.

And ⁹ this is the Rise and Source of Schismatics, that through their swelling Pride they contemn their Bishop, and so they go off from the Church, so they erect a profane Altar, and so they rebel against the Peace of Christ, and the Ordination and Unity of God. And again, ¹ From

thence proceed Schisms, that the Bishop who is but one, and presides over the Church, is contemned by the proud Presumption of Men; and he that was thought worthy by God, is esteemed unworthy by Men.

And again, ² The Church is the People united to their Bishop, and the Sheep adhering to their Pastor; the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop; whosoever are not with the Bishop, are not in the Church, and those do

Dei non habentes obrepunt, & latentur apud quosdam communicare se credunt, quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, & cohærentium sibi invicem Sacerdotum glutino copulata. *Epist.* 69. S. 7. p. 209.

⁹ Hi sunt ortus atque conatus Schismaticorum malè cogitantium ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant, sic de Ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum foris collocatur, sic contra pacem Christi, & ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur. *Epist.* 65. S. 4. p. 193.

¹ Inde Schismata & Hæreses obortæ sunt, & oriuntur, dum Episcopus qui unus est, & Ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, & homo dignatione Dei honoratus indignus hominibus judicatur. *Epist.* 69. S. 4. p. 208.

² Illi sunt Ecclesia plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & pastori suo grex adherens, unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo, & si qui cum Episcopo non sunt, in Ecclesia non esse, & frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum Sacerdotibus

in vain flatter themselves, who having not Peace with God's Priests, creep about, and privately communicate with some, as they think, when the Catholick Church is not divided, but connexed and coupled together by the Unity of its agreeing Bishops. Whosoever therefore should causelessly desert his Bishop, and solicit others so to do, was a true Schismatick, since in so doing

³ Cum Episcopo portionem plebis dividere, id est, à pastore oves, & filios à parente separare, & Christi membra dissipare. *Epist.* 38. S. 1. p. 90.

³ *be divided a Portion of the Flock with the Bishop, separated the Sheep from their Pastor, and dissipated the Members of Christ.*

From these Quotations then it is apparent, that

the Primitive Schism respected only a particular Church, and consisted in a Person's Separation from Communion with his lawful Bishop, without a just and authentick Cause; when any one should set up a particular Church in a particular Church, in opposition to the lawful Bishop thereof, and should draw away the Inhabitants of that Parish from the Communion of their legal Minister, setting up distinct Meetings and

⁴ Conventicula sibi diversa constituunt. *De unitat. Eccles.* S. 10. p. 299.

⁵ Μὴ βεβαίως καὶ ἐντολῶν συναθροίσεσθαι. *Ad Magnes.* p. 32.

⁶ Ὁ λαΐδες ἑπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, τῷ διαβόλῳ λαΐσθεσι. *Epist. ad Smirn.* p. 7.

as *Cyprian* calls them.

This was true Schism; for as *Ignatius* says, whosoever so assembled ⁵ were not congregated legally according to the Command:

And ⁶ whosoever officiated without the Bishop, sacrificed to the Devil.

§. 8. This Notion now of Schism gives us a clear Reason, why we find in *Ignatius* so frequent and pathetick Injunctions of Obedience to, and Unity with our respective Pastors, of avoiding all Divisions, and closely adhering to them; because a deserting of them, or a separating from them, was a Commission of this horrid and detestable Sin of Schism; as will appear from these following Exhortations and Instructions of his, with which every Leaf almost of his Epistles are fraught and furnished:

All you of the Church of Smirna obey your Bishop as Jesus Christ did the Father, and the Presbytery as the Apostles, and honour the Deacons according to the Command of God. Let nothing of Ecclesiastical Services be done without the Bishop; let that Communion only be esteemed valid, which is performed by the Bishop, or by one permitted by him. Whereever the Bishop is, there let the People be; as where Jesus Christ is, there the Catholick Church is; it is not lawful without the Bishop, or one permitted by him, to baptize or celebrate the Eucharist; this is pleasing unto God, that so whatsoever is done may be firm and legal.

7 Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὰς ἡ διακόνους ἐντρέπετε ὡς Θεῷ ἐν ἰσοκλίῳ. Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἢ ἀνεκλήτων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκείνῃ βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡ γείτω, ἢ ὑπὸ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἔσται, ἢ ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ, ὅπερ ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπισκόπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔσται, ὡσπερ ὅπου ἂν ἦ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἐκ Ἰερὺ ἐστὶν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἔτε βαπτίζειν, ἔτε ἀγάπῃ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνός ἰδοιμάσῃ, ἔτε το καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλές ἢ καὶ βέβαιον παρ' ὁ παρῶνται. Epist. ad Smirn. p. 6.

⁸ Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν ἀντιψύχῃ ἐγὼ ἧς ὑποτασσόμενων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέρους διάκονοις καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο χεῖν ἐν Θεῷ. Epist. ad Polycarp. p. 14.

⁹ Μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὡμεν Θεῷ ὑποτασσόμενοι. Ad Ephes. p. 20.

¹ Παρεμῶ ἐν ὁμοιοῖα Θεῷ σπυδαίεσε πάντα προσέειν προσκαθημένους τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ εἰς τόπον Θεῷ καὶ ἧς πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίε ἧς ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἧς διακόνων—πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—μηδὲν ἔσω ἐν ὑμῶν ὁ δινήσεται ὑμᾶς μεῖσαι ἀλλ' ἐνωθετε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προσκαθημένοις—ὡσπερ ἐν ὁ κύριος ἀνεῦ τῶ πατρὸς ἐδὲν ἐποίησα ἡνώμαρος ὡν ἔτε δι' ἑαυτῶ, ἔτε διὰ ἧς ἀποστόλων, ἔτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἀνῶ, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἧς πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν προσέεισε μηδὲ προσέεισε ἐυλογὸν τὸ φαίνεσθαι ἰδίᾳ ὑμῶν ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχὴ μία δειήσις, εἰς νῦς, μία ἐλπίς. Epist. ad Magnesios, p. 33.

² Φύγετε τὴν ἰσομεῖσμον—ὅπως τὴν ὁ ποιμὴν ὄζειν ἐκεῖ ὡς προσβαλῆ ἀκολουθεῖτε, πολλοὶ γὰρ λυκαὶ ἀξιώσονται

⁸ Have respect unto your Bishop, as God hath respect unto you. My Soul for theirs that obey their Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons, and with them let my part in God be.

⁹ Let us not resist our Bishop, lest we be found Resistors of God. ¹ I exhort you to do every thing in the Unity of God, the Bishop presiding in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the Council of the Apostles, and the Deacons performing the intrusted Ministry of Jesus Christ; let there nothing be in you that may divide you, but be united to your Bishop and Presidents: As therefore Christ did nothing without the Father, being united to him, neither by himself nor by his Apostles, so do you nothing without the Bishop and Presbyters, nor privately withdraw from them, but assemble together, having one Prayer, one Supplication, one Mind and one Hope. ² Flee all Division; where the Pastor

stor is, there as Sheep follow, for there are many plausible Wolves, that seek to carry you away, but let them have no place in your Unity — Whoever are God's and Jesus Christ's, they are with the Bishop; and whosoever repenting shall come to the Unity of the Church, those shall be God's, that they may live according to Jesus Christ.

Be not deceived, my Brethren, if any one follows a Schismatick, or one that causeth Division and Separation, he shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. ³ Respect the Bishop,

Presbyters and Deacons; do nothing without the Bishop. Keep your Flesh as the Temple of God, Love Unity, Avoid Schisms, be Followers of Jesus Christ, as he was of his Father — Where Division and Wrath is, God dwells not; God therefore pardons all Penitents, if they penitentially return to the Unity of God, and the Presbytery of the Bishop. And some other

such like Expressions there are in the Epistles of this Father, which evidently demonstrate Schism to be nothing else than a causeless Separation from our Parish Bishop or Minister, and a wan-

ήδονή κακή αιχμαλωτίζουσιν τὸν θεοδέξμευ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνοσίῃ ὑμῶν ἐκ ἰζῆσιν τόπον, ὅσοι γὰρ θεοὶ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἶται μετὰ τῆς ὁπισκόπου εἰσὶν καὶ ὅσα ἀνμετανοήσαντες ἔλθουσιν ὁπί τ' ἐνόησα τ' ἐκκλησίαι εἶται θεοὶ ἔσονται ἵνα ὦσιν καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοὶ μου, εἰ τις ἄλλοθεν ἀκολουθεῖ βασιλείαν θεοῦ ἔκλενονομεῖ. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 40.

³ Τῷ ὁπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις, χωρὶς τοῦ ὁπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε, τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ τηρεῖτε, τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀγαπάτε, τὸν μεισμὸς φύγετε, μιμεσάγινεθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τῶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἔδε μέισμος ἐστὶν καὶ ὀργή, θεὸς ἔκαλοκεῖ, πᾶσιν ἐν μετανοήσῃ ἀφίει ὁ κύριος, εἰ ἀνμετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνόητα θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τῶ ὁπισκόπου. Epist. ad Philadelph. p. 43.

dring after, or an Adhesion to another false and pretended Pastor.

§. 9. But for the clearer Proof, that this was what the Fathers meant by Schism, it may not be altogether unnecessary to add unto these Quotations an Example or two; for Examples more convincingly instruct than bare Testimonies and Citations. And here let us first view the Schism of *Felicissimus* in the Church of *Carthage*, as it is related in the 38th, 40th, and 55th Epistles of *Cyprian*, and we shall find it respecting only that particular Church or Parish. When *Cyprian* was elected Bishop of *Carthage*, *Felicissimus* and others of his Faction opposed him, but finding themselves too weak, and not powerful enough to balance his Interest, they yielded to his Promotion, but yet still retained an Hatred against his Person, and waited for a more favourable Opportunity and a plausible Pretence to separate from him. It pleased God that *Cyprian* some time after his Advancement, was forced, by Reason of the Persecution, to withdraw and absent from his Flock, during which Absence that Faction made use of all means to lessen his Interest, till they had made their Party indifferently strong, and then they broke out into an open Separation from him, forming themselves into a distinct Meeting, creating a new Bishop, erecting a new Altar, and constituting a new Church. Now all this was acted in, and respected only the particular Parish of *Carthage*, without causing or attempting any Separation in any other Church or Parish; and yet this *Cyprian* calls
Schism,

Schism, and Excommunicates the Actors in it as Schismaticks, and Breakers of the Unity of the Church, of his Church Actually, and of all the other Churches of the Church Universal Virtually, who like the Members of the Natural Body, are affected with the Pains and Convulsions of each other.

So also the famous Schism of *Novatian* respected only the particular Church of *Rome*, being no other than his causeless Separation from *Cornelius* his lawful Bishop, and his erecting separate Conventicles against him, as may be read at large in those Epistles of *Cyprian*, that treat of this Affair, and in his Book *De Unitate Ecclesiae*.

S. 10. But I foresee an evident Objection against this restrained Notion of Schism, and in particular from the Schism of *Novatian*, which I cannot well pass over without resolving, since the Solution thereof will inform us in the manner, how the Schism of one particular Church did affect other Churches. Now the Objection may be this: If Schism respected only one particular Church, whence then comes it to pass that we read of *Novatian* Bishops, not only at *Rome*, where that Schism first began, but in several other Churches and Parishes besides? Now to this I answer, That we must distinguish between the Schism and the Heresy of *Novatian*; had *Novatian* been only guilty of Schism, in all Probability, his Schismatical Actions, as well as all other Schisms before, would have ended in the same Church where they began, and have proceed-

ed no farther ; but he having once engaged in his Schism, and willing to continue it, that he might have some Pretence for those enormous Practices, he accused his Bishop of remitting and loosing the Reins of Discipline, in communicating with *Trophimus*, and others, that had Sacrificed to Idols, as may be amply seen in the 55th Epistle of *Cyprian* ; consequently for the Justification of this Accusation, he added this Doctrine, as the Characteristick Dogma of his Party, That the Church had no Power to absolve those who lapsed after Baptism, but were to leave them to the Tribunal of God. This was an Error in Doctrine, invidious to the Mercy of God, and injurious to the Merits of Christ, as *Cyprian* shews at large in his 55th Epistle. Every Error in Doctrine was called Heresy. Accordingly *Novatian* is branded for this as an Heretick ; whence the Confessors in their return from his Party,

4 Commisisse se Schismata, & hæresis auctores fuisse. *Cyprian. Epist. 46. S. 1. p. 104.*

5 Schismatico & hæretico homine, *Ibidem S. 3. P. 105.*

6 Hæreticæ pravitatis. *Epist. 47. S. 1. p. 107.*

7 Schismaticus & hæreticus error. *Epist. 51. S. 2. p. 111.*

confessed that in adhering to them, ⁴ they had committed Schisms, and been the Authors of Heresies. And in the same Epistle they call *Novatian* ⁵ an Heretick, and a Schismatick. So *Cyprian* also accuses the said *Novatian*, ⁶ of heretical Pravity ; and calls his Error ⁷ a Schismatical and Heretical Error.

So that *Novatian's* Schism was accompanied with Heresy ; which, as usual, was called after the Name of its Author ; and having many eminent Persons to abet it , and a specious shew of Sanctity and Mortification , it is no wonder that it spread its self into many other Churches, besides that where it was first hatched ; unto which we may also add their Industrious-Endeavours to profelyte Men unto their Party ⁸ running

about, as *Cyprian* writes, from House to House , and from Town to Town , to gain Companions in their Obstinacy and Error. For many of them really thinking themselves to

⁸ Ostiatim per multorum domos , vel oppidatim , per quasdam civitates discurrentes, obstinationis suæ & erroris scissi sibi quærant comites. *Epist.* 41. S. 2. p. 97.

be in the right , and believing others to be in the wrong , conceived it to be their bounden Duty to leave their Bishop, if he would not leave his Heresy, as they apprehended it to be. And probably several Bishops of the Orthodox, who were the legal Pastors of their respective Parishes, were through their own Ignorance, and those Men's fair Pretences, deluded into the same uncharitable Error with them , Of denying the Lapsed any Pardon. But we need not guess at this as only probable, since we have an Instance of it in *Martian* the lawful Bishop of *Arles* , concerning whom , *Cyprian* writes to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, that he had received Advice from the Bishops of that Province, ⁹ That *Martian*

⁹ *Martianus* Arelate consistens *Novatiano* sc

of

conjunxerit, & à Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitate, atque à corporis nostri & Sacerdotii consensione discesserit, tenens Hæreticæ præsumptionis durissimam pravitatem, ut servis Dei pœnitentibus & dolentibus, & ad Ecclesiam lachrymis & gemitu & dolore pulsantibus, divinæ pietatis & lenitatis paterna solatia & subsidia claudantur, nec ad fovenda vulnera admittantur vulnerati, sed sine spe pacis & communicationis relictis ad luporum rapinam & prædam Diaboli projiciantur. *Epist. 67. S. I. P. 198.*

of Arles had joyned himself unto Novatian, and had departed from the Unity of the Church, and the Concord of the Bishops, holding that Heretical Severity, that the Consolations of Divine Pity and Fatherly Lenity, should be shut against the penitent and mourning Servants of God, who knock at the Church with Tears, Sighs and Groans, so that the wounded are not admitted to have their Wounds healed, but being left without any hope of Peace or Communion, are thrown out to the

Rapine of Wolves, and Prey of the Devil.

So that it was not *Novatian's* Schism, but his Heresy, that was diffused through other Churches; his Schism respected only his own Church, but his Heresy, which was a Breach of the Unity of the Church Universal, respected other Churches also; so that in answer to the forenamed Objection, we need only say this, That there was no such thing as the Objection supposes; that is, that there were no Bishops or Followers of *Novatian's* Schism in other Churches, but that those that were discriminated by his Name, were the Bishops and Followers of his Heresy.

But however let us suppose the worst, *viz.* That all Schismaticks had been Orthodox and found in every Point of Faith, had been exemplary and pious in the discharge of every Duty, had been guilty of no Crime but their Schism from their Bishop and Parish, and yet their Schism might have influenced other Churches and Parishes too, and that I think these two ways.

1. If one or more Churches had admitted to Communion those that were Excommunicated by their own Church for Schism, that Church or Churches made themselves Partakers of those Mens Crimes, and involved themselves in the same Guilt of Division and Schism with them, as *Martian*, Bishop of *Arles*, was adjudged by *Cyprian* as a Schismatick, ¹ *Because he had joined with Novatian, when he had been before Excommunicated.* I do not here mean, that a Bishop or Parish to make themselves guilty, should actually or personally communicate with the Author of the Schism himself, much less in the Church where he began his Schism, but it was enough if they joyned with his Legates or Messengers, or any of his Followers in any Church whatsoever; and therefore neither an ² *African Sy-*

¹ Cum Novatianus ipse, quem sequitur, olim absentus & hostis Ecclesie judicatus sit. *Epist.* 67. §. 2. p. 198.

² Et cum ad nos in Africanam legatos misisset, optans ad communicationem nostram admitti, hinc sententiam retulerint, se foris esse cepisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari. *Cypr. Ep.* 67. §. 2. p. 198.

³ Cum Novatiano te non communicare. *Idem Epist.* 52. S. 1. p. 113.

⁴ Felicissimum rejectum à te illic esse. *Cyprian. Epist.* 55. S. 1. p. 137.

to Rome ; but as he was excluded from Communion in his own Church, so likewise was he in that of *Rome*.

2. It was the Custom when any Bishop was Elected, to send News of his Promotion to

⁵ Tuas literas legimus. *Cyprian. Epist.* 42. S. 1. p. 99.

the Bishop of that Church, to which he was promoted, might be

⁸ Literas nostras ad te direximus. *Cyprian. Epist.* 42. S. 1. p. 99.

Advancement to the

⁷ Venerunt ad nos, missi à Novatiano Maximus Presbyter & Augendus Diaconus, & Machæus quidam, & Longinus. *Cyprian. Epist.* 41. S. 1. p. 96.

nod, nor ³ Antoninus an African Bishop, would communicate with the Legates of Novatian. Nor would ⁴ Cornelius joyn in Communion with Felicissimus, a Schismatick of Carthage, when he came

other Bishops, as ⁵ Cornelius did to Cyprian, that so he might have their Confirmation ; and their future Letters to

directed unto him, as ⁶ Cyprian did unto Cornelius ; which Custom of sending Messengers to other Churches, to acquaint them of their

Episcopal Throne, was also observed by the Schismaticks, and in particular by *Novatian*, who ⁷ sent Maximus a Presbyter, Augendus a Deacon, Machæus and Longinus unto Cyprian, to inform him of his Promotion to the See of

Rome.

Rome. Now if any Bishop or Church did knowingly approve the Pretensions of the Schismatical Bishop, they broke the Concord of the Church, and became guilty of Schism; as may be gathered from the beginning of an Epistle of Cyprian's to *Antonius an African Bishop*, wherein he

writes him, ⁸ *That he had received his Letter, which firmly consented to the Concord of the Sacerdotal College, and adhered to the Catholick Church, by which he had signified, that he would not communicate with Novatian, but hold an Agreement with Bishop Cornelius.*

And therefore when Legates came to Cyprian, both from *Cornelius* and *Novatian*, he duly weighed who was legally Elected; and finding *Cornelius* so to be, he approved his Election, ⁹ *Directed his Congratulatory Letters unto him, ¹ refused to communicate with the Schismatical Messengers of Novatian, ² and exhorted them to quit their Schism, and to submit to their lawfully elected Bishop.*

² Accepi literas tuas, concordiam collegii Sacerdotalis firmiter obtinentes & Catholicæ Ecclesiæ cohærentes, quibus significasti cum Novatiano te non communicare, sed cum Cornelio Coepiscopo nostro unum tenere consensum. *Epist.* 52. §. 1. p. 113.

⁶ Literas nostras ad te direximus. *Epist.* 42. §. 1. p. 99.

¹ A communicatione eos nostra statim cohibendos esse censuimus. *Epist.* 41, §. 1. p. 96.

² Nec mandare desistimus, ut perniciofa diffensione deposita — agnoscant, Episcopo semel

facto, alium constitui nullo modo posse. *Ibid.* §. 2. p. 97.

So that in these two respects, the Schism of a particular Church might influence others also, involving them in the same Crime, creating Quarrels and Dissentions between their respective Bishops, and so dividing the Dischargers of that Honourable Office, whom God had made one ; for as Cyprian says,

³ Cum sit à Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item Episcopatus, unus Episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus. *Epist.* 52. S. 16. p. 119.

³ As there is but one Church throughout the whole World, divided into many Members ; so there is but one Bishoprick diffused through the agreeing Number of many Bishops.

§. II. But now that we may conclude this Chapter, the Sum of all that hath been spoken concerning Schism, is, that Schism in its large Sense, was a Breach of the Unity of the Church Universal ; but in its usual and restrained Sense, of a Church Particular ; whosoever without any just reason, through Faction, Pride and Envy, separated from his Bishop, or his Parish Church, he was a true Schismatick ; and whosoever was thus a Schismatick, if we may believe Saint Cyprian,

⁴ Alienus est — habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem ; tales etiam si occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluatur. *De Unit. Eccles.* S. 5. & 12. p. 297. & 300.

⁴ He had no longer God for his Father, nor the Church for his Mother, but was out of the Number of the Faithful : and though he should die for the Faith, yet should he never be saved.

Thus

Thus much then shall serve for that Query, concerning the Church's Unity. The next and last thing that is to be enquired into, is the Worship of the Primitive Church ; that is, the Form and Method of their Publick Services, of Reading, Singing, Preaching, Praying, of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper ; of their Fasts and Feasts ; of their Rites and Ceremonies, and such like, which I thought to have annexed to this Treatise ; but this being larger than I expected, and the Discourse relating to the Primitive Worship being like to be almost as large, I have for this and some other Reasons, reserved it for a particular Tract by its self ; which, if nothing prevents, may be expos'd hereafter to publick View and Observation.

F I N I S.

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THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
Constitution, Discipline,
Unity and Worship,
OF THE
PRIMITIVE CHURCH,
That Flourish'd within the first
Three Hundred Years after
CHRIST.

Faithfully Collected out of the Extant
Writings of those Ages.

By an Impartial Hand.

Printed in the Year 1713.

THE

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EMORY'S

THE BLENDING AND RESTORING
OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM

BY

EMORY

OF THE

The Second Part of the Enquiry
into the Constitution, Disci-
pline, Unity, and Worship of the
Primitive Church.

C H A P. I.

§. 1. *Of the Publick Worship of the Primitive Church.* §. 2. *In their Assemblies they began with Reading the Scriptures. Other Writings Read besides the Scriptures.* §. 3. *Who read the Scriptures, from whence they were Read, and how they were Read.* §. 4. *Whether there were appointed Lessons.* §. 5. *After the Reading of the Scriptures, there followed Singing of Psalms.* §. 6. *What Psalms they Sung.* §. 7. *The manner of their Singing.* §. 8. *Of Singing Men, and of Church Musick.* §. 9. *To Singing of Psalms succeeded Preaching. On what the Preacher discoursed: How long his Sermon was.* §. 10. *The Method of their Sermons.* §. 11. *Who Preached; usually the Bishop, or by his Permission, any other, either Clergyman or Layman.*

§. 1. **H**AVING in a former Treatise enquired into the Constitution, Discipline, and Unity of the Primitive Church; I intend in this to enquire into the Worship thereof, which naturally divides its self into these Two Parts, Into the Worship its self, and, Into the necessary Circumstances thereof, as Time and Place, and such like; both which I design to handle, beginning first with the Worship its self, wherein I shall not meddle with the Object thereof, since all Protestants agree in the Adoring God alone thro' Jesus Christ, but only speak of those particular Acts and Services, whereby in the Publick Congregations we honour and adore Almighty God, such as Reading of the Scriptures, Singing of Psalms, Preaching, Praying, and the Two Sacraments, every one of which I shall consider in their Order, as they were performed in the Ancient Parish Churches. And First.

§. 2. When the Congregation was assembled, the first Act of Divine Service, which they performed, was the Reading of the Holy Scriptures. In our Publick Assemblies, says

* Scripturæ leguntur, Psalmi canuntur, Adlocutiones proferuntur, & Petitiones delegantur. *De Animâ c. 3. p. 530.*

† Τα ἑπομιμονὲ μαθα τῶν ἑποσολων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμμαλα τῶν θεοριτων ἀναγιωσχεῖ. *Apolog. 2. p. 98.*

*Tertullian, * The Scriptures are Read, Psalms Sung, Sermons Preached, and Prayers presented. So also Justin Martyr writes, that in their Religious Assemblies, first of all, † The Writings of the Prophets and Apostles were read.*

But

But besides the Sacred Scriptures, there were other Writings read in several Churches, viz. The Epistles and Tracts of Eminent and Pious Men, such as the Book of * *Hermas*, called *Pastor*, and † *the Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Church of Corinth*, which were read in the publick Congregations of many Churches.

* Ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιωμένον. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.

† Ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείστοις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ δεδημοσιωμένον. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 88.

§. 3. He that read the Scriptures, was particularly destinated to this Office, as a Preparative to Holy Orders, as *Aurelius*, whom *Cyprian* design'd for a Presbyter, * *was first to begin with the Office of reading.*

* Placuit ut ab Officio lectionis incipiat. *Epist.* 33. p. 77.

The Name by which this Officer was distinguished, was in Greek, † ὁ ἀναγνώσκων, in Latin, * *Lector*, both which signifie in English, a Reader, or as

† *Just. Martyr*, *Apol.* 2. p. 98.

* *Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret.* p. 89.

we now call him, a *Clark*. The Place from whence the Clark read, was an Eminency erected in the Church, that so all the People might see and hear him, which was called

† *Pulpitum*, or a *Pulpit*, from which Pulpit he read the Scriptures alone, and not others al-

† *Cyprian*, *Epist.* 33. p. 77. & *Epist.* 34. §. 4. p. 81.

ternatively with him; it being his Office only to Read, whilst the Congregation listned to him, as *Cyprian* writes, that *Celerinus* a

* Plebi Universæ—legat Præcepta & Evangelium Domini. *Epist.* 34. §. 4. p. 81.

fore when this Duty

† Πανσαυτῶν τῆ ἀναγι-
νώσκοντες. *Justin. Mar-
tyr. Apolog.* 2. p. 98.

§. 4. How much the Lector read at a Time is uncertain, since they varied according to the Circumstances of their Condition. So writes

* Cogimur ad literarum divinarum Commemorationem, si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere. *Apolog. cap.* 39. p. 709.

† Μέχρις ἰσχυραῖν. *Apo-
log.* 2. p. 98.

ended, then followed

|| Scripturæ leguntur, Psalmi canuntur. *De Anim. cap.* 3. p. 530.

Christians Service, who, as *Pliny* writes, met together before Day, * to

* Carmen Christo, quasi Deo dicere. *Epist. ad Trajan.*

Raptures of Praise and Adoration, and to raise a Pious Soul into greater Degrees of Admiration of God's Love and Bounty, whence such a

Lector, * Read the Law and the Gospel to all the People. *Celerinus* only read, whilst all the People attended; and therefore when this Duty was ended, it is described only † by the Lectors ceasing to Read, and not by the Peoples ceasing so to do.

Tertullian, that * they Read the Scriptures according to the Quality of their present Times. And to the same purpose says *Justin Martyr*, that the Clark read, † until it was sufficient.

§. 5. When the Reading of the Scriptures was the Singing of *Psalms*. So says *Tertullian*, || The Scriptures are Read, and Psalms Sung. This was a considerable Part of the

Christians Service, who, as *Pliny* writes, met together before Day, * to sing an Hymn to Christ, it being useful to elevate the Mind in Heavenly

Soul

Soul is described by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, * to be continually Blessing, Praising, Singing and presenting Hymns to God the Lord of all, being assisted by the Holy Spirit of God; † without whose Aid it was impossible to Sing either in good Rhyne, Tune, Metre or Harmony.

* Ἀεὶ ἀνεῖσα, ὑμνεσα, εὐλογεσα, ψάλλεσα. *Stromat. lib. 6. p. 483.*

† Οὐδὲ ψάλλαι καὶ εὐρυθμοῖς, καὶ ἑμμελῶς, καὶ ἑμμελῶς, καὶ συμφωνῶς ὑμνεσαι ἢ παύσει ἐν Χερσῶ, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα, &c. *Origen. de Orat. §. 6. p. 7.*

The Christians in those Days condemned only the debauch'd Bacchanalian Singing and Roaring, but commended the Blessing and Praising

of God, || by *Thanksgiving and Singing of Psalms*. Inasmuch that it was made one Characteristick Distinction of a Christian: As *Tertullian* inveighs against the Marriage of a Believing Woman with an Infidel, because thereby she would be hindred from discharging the Ordinances of the Gospel, amongst which he enumerates Singing of Psalms; for then, says he, * *What would her Husband sing to her? Or, What would she sing to her Husband?* And a little after he describes the happy Condition of that Couple, who were both Christians, in that they did both joyn together in, and exhort one another to, the vigorous Performance of God's Worship, † *Psalms and Hymns*

|| Δι' εὐχαριστίας, καὶ ψαλλμαδίας. *Clem. Alex. Pedag. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 121.*

As *Tertullian* inveighs against the Marriage of a Believing Woman with an Infidel, because thereby she would be hindred from discharging the Ordinances of the Gospel, amongst which he enumerates Singing of Psalms; for then, says he, * *What would her Husband sing to her? Or, What would she sing to her Husband?* And a little after he describes the happy Condition of that Couple, who were both Christians, in that they did both joyn together in, and exhort one another to, the vigorous Performance of God's Worship, † *Psalms and Hymns*

* Quid maritus suus illi? Vel marito quid illa cantabit? *Ad Uxor. lib. 2, p. 431.*

† Sonant inter duos Psalmi & Hymni, & mutuò provocant, quis melius Deo suo canet? *Ibidem, p. 433.*

8 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

found between those two, and they mutually excite one another, who shall sing unto God best ; it being their daily Employment, and recurring as often as they eat their Meat. Thus saith Cle-

† Χαρμοί ἢ ἢ ὕμνοι ὡς
 † ἑστίασιν. Stromat. lib.
 7. p. 523.

mens Alexandrinus, † a good Christians Life, is a continued Festival, his Sacrifices are Prayers and

Praises, Reading of Scriptures before Meat, and Singing of Psalms and Hymns at Meat. Hence in their Feasts and Banquets,

* Παρὰ πότον ψάλλει ἀμύλοις ὡς πίνουσι—† δε-
 ὄν δοξαζόντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφ-
 ὄνῳ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀπο-
 λώσεων δωρεᾶ, τῶν ἑῖς
 τὴν τῆ σώματος, τῶν ἑῖς
 τὴν τῆ ψυχῆς ἀύξῃσιν προ-
 φων αἰδῖως ἐπιχορηγῆσαι.
 Stromat. lib. 6. p. 475.

* When they drank to one another, they Sung an Hymn, therein blessing God for his unexpressible Gifts towards Mankind, both as to their Bodies and Souls.

I confess indeed that most of these Quotations respect only private Singing of Psalms, and so they may seem to be somewhat alien from my purpose ; on which Account I should not have mentioned them, but have wholly passed them over in silence, had it not been to have satisfied those, who hold it unlawful to Sing any Psalms at all, in what manner soever ; for if singing in private was usual and commendable, then no doubt publick Singing was so also.

§. 6. What those Psalms or Hymns were, that the Primitive Christians sung, may be a Question necessary to be resolved, which I take to be two-fold, either such as were taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and particularly out of the Book of Psalms, or such as were of their own private

private composing. So writes *Tertullian*, that after the Celebration of the Lord's Supper,

* *Every one Sung an Hymn out of the Bible, or of his own composing.* As for the Singing of *David's* Psalms, the same Father particularly mentions the 133d. Psalm, as Sung in his Days, † *O how good and pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity: This thou canst not easily sing, unless when thou supposest with many.* As for the Hymns that were of Private Men's Com-

position, it was one of the Accusatins of *Paulus Samosatenus*, the Heretical Bishop of *Anti-*

och, || that he abolished those Psalms, which were wont to be Sung to the Honour of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, as Novel, and composed by Modern Authors, and that he appointed Women on Easter Day, in the middle of the Church, to sing Psalms in his Praise.

And in the Fragment of an Anonymous Author extant in *Eusebius*, we find the Heresy of *Artemon*, who denied the Divinity of Christ, confuted not only by the Scriptures, and the Writings of the precedent

Fathers,

* *Quisque de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio provocatur in medium Deo canere. Apolog. c. 39. p. 710.*

† *Vide quam bonum & quam jucundum habitare Fratres in unum: Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus coenas. Advers. Psychicos de Fejunio. p. 650.*

|| *Ψαλμὸς ὃ τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς ἡ νεωτέρες ἡ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγραμματα, εἰς εαυτὸν ὃ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ μεγάλῃ τε πάχᾳ ἡμῶν ψαλμοὶ εἰν γυναῖκας ἀδελφικῶν. Act. Concil. Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30. p. 281.*

Fathers,

* Ψαλλοι ἢ ὅσοι καὶ ὠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπαρχῆς ἰσὺ πῖ-
 σῶν γεραφεῖσαι, ἢ λόγον τῆ
 δεῖ τῆ Χριστὸν ὑμνεσι θεο-
 λογεῖντες. Lib. 5. cap. 28.
 p. 196.

Fathers, but also * by the Psalms and Hymns of the Brethren, which were formerly composed by them, wherein they praised Christ by making him a God,

Such a private composed Hymn was that which Clemens Alexandrinus mentions, as one commonly known among the Christians in his Days, beginning χαῖρε φῶς, or Hail Light. *Protreptic.* p. 52.

§. 7. As for the manner of the Primitive Singing, it was † in good Tune, and Concert, all the People bearing a part in it; but Whether all together,

† Ἐμμελῶς καὶ συμφῶνως.
 Origen. de Oratione,
 §. 6. p. 7.

or Antiphonally, cannot well be determined, every Country probably following its own Mode, Singing only in general being commanded, not the particular manner or fashion of it.

|| Origen. de Orat. §. 6.
 p. 7.

In a precedent || Quotation mention is made of Singing in Concert, συμ-

φῶνως, or with Voices altogether. In other Places the Alternative Method of Singing seems expressly to be used; as Pliny writes, That the Christians in his time met together before Day,

* Carmen Christo dicere secum invicem. *Epist. ad Trajan.*

* to Sing an Hymn to Christ by course, or, one against another. And so in that forecited Passage of Tertullian, † What will an Unbelieving Husband sing to a Believing Wife?

† Quid Maritus suus illi? Vel marito quid illa cantabit? *Ad Uxor. lib. 2.*
 p. 431.

Or what will a Believing Wife sing to an Unbelieving Husband?

§. 8. As for Singing Men and Singing Women, I find that *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretical Bishop of *Antioch*, abolished the old usual Hymns, and * appointed certain Women on Easter Day in the middle of the Church to sing Psalms in his Praise. But whether these Singing Women were first Instituted by this Heretical Bishop, or were before his Time, I cannot tell.

As for Church-Musick, for Organs, and the like, those Primitive Ages where wholly ignorant of them; for it cannot rationally be conceived, that in those Days of continual Persecution or Violence, they could either use or preserve them; all that they look'd after, was to Sing † in Rhyme, Metre, Tune and Concert, to offer up unto God the Praises of their Voices, Lips and Mouths, which *Clemens Alexandrinus* thinks, was Emblemized or shadowed forth by those Musical Instruments mentioned in the 150th Psalm, where saith he,

* We are commanded to praise God on the Psaltery, that is, on the Tongue, because the Tongue is the

αὐτὸν ἐν κυμβάλοις ἀλαλαγμῶν, γλώττιαν λέγει, ἢ τοῖς κρομόνοις lib. 2. c. 4. p. 121.

* Ἐἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆσδε πόλεως ἡμέρα ψαλμωδῶν γυναικῶν ᾠδοσκοπέζων. Apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. p. 281.

† Ἐυρύθμωσ, καὶ ἐμμελῶσ, καὶ ἐμμέτρωσ, καὶ συμφῶνωσ. Origen. de Oratione §. 6. p. 7.

* Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ, ὅτι ἡ γλῶττια τὸ ψαλτήριον κυεῖ, καὶ ἐν κισθάρᾳ αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν, κισθάρᾳ νοεῖσθε τὸ σῶμα — αἰνεῖτε κύμβαλον τῆσδε σῶματι καὶ ἐπιχρῆ χεῖλεσι. Psalms. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 121.

Psaltery of the Lord, and to praise him on the Harp, by which we must understand the Mouth; and to praise him on the loud sounding Cymbals, by which the Tongue is to be understood, which sounds or speaks through the knocking or coition of the Lips.

§. 9. When the Singing of Psalms was ended, then succeeded the Preaching of the Word.

* *Scripturæ leguntur, Psalmi canuntur, Adlocutiones proferuntur. De Animâ, c. 3. p. 530.*

So writes *Tertullian*,
* *Scriptures are read, Psalms sung, and then Sermons pronounced. As for the Subject of the*

Preacher's Sermon, it was usually a Commentary or Explication of the Lessons that were just before read. So it was in the Time and Country of *Justin Martyr*, who writes,

† *Παυσαμένη τῆ ἀναγνώσ- κοντι ὁ ἑρθευῶς ἀφ' λόγου τῷ νεθεσίαν. ἢ θεῶκλη- σιν τῶν καλῶν τέτων μιμήσεως ποεί. Apolog. 2. p. 98.*

That † *when the Reader had ended, the Bishop made a Sermon, by way of Instruction and Exhortation, to the Imitation of those excellent things which had been read. Whence Origen*

|| *Τῶν εἰς τὰ ἀναγνώσ- ματα διηγύσεων. Contra Celsum, lib. 3. p. 142.*

|| *Explanations of the Lessons. And such Explanations are all his Sermons or Homilies, as whosoever reads them will easily see; and he himself intimates as much in * several of them.*

* *Homil. de. Engastrim. And Homil. 17. in Jerem.*

As for the Length of their Sermons, they usually

ally preach'd an Hour, as *Origen* complains of his abundance of Matter, that if he should thoroughly handle every part of it, it would * require not only the one Hour of their Assembly, but several. Therefore when the Lessons were

* Ὡς ἐ μίας συναγωγῆς, ἀλλὰ ἢ πλείονων. Homil. de Engast. p. 29.

long and copious, which sometimes consisted of several Chapters, as the Lesson which was the Subject of *Origen's* 15th Homily on *Jeremiah*, reach'd from the 15th Chapter and 10th Verse, to the 17th Chapter and 5th Verse. The Preacher pass'd over some of the Matter unmentioned, and handled the most important, or the most curious part therein. Thus in the beginning of a Sermon of *Origen's*, we find, that the Chapters that were read, were the 25, 26, 27, and 28th Chapters of the first Book of *Samuel*, † which he complains were too large and copious to be all handled at once, and therefore he would only discourse of the 28th Chapter, touching the Witch of Endor, and those things related there concerning her.

† Τὰ ἀναγνωθέντα πλείονα ἔστι—ὃν ἐκάστη περὶ μαλα ἐν ὀλίγα ἔχει—τὰ περὶ τῆ ἐγλασεμύθου. Hom. de Engast. p. 28, 29.

§. 10. As for the manner of their Sermons, we may observe this Method in those of *Origen's*, that he first began with a short *Exordium*, and then explained Verse after Verse, or Sentence after Sentence, shewing the Natural and Literal Signification of the Words, and then the Spiritualized or Mystical Meaning of them, and concluded with a suitable Application

† Περί τρεποντες μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεὸν εὐσεβειαν, ἀποτρέποντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς καλοφροσύνης τῆς εἰς τὸ ἀνίστασθαι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὁρθοῦ λόγον παρατίθενται. Origen. contra Cels. lib. 3. p. 142.

† Τότε τοιμῶν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ κρινόν διαλόγοις εἶρεν εἰς μέσον, οἳ ὑπορέμεν συνελθὼν ἀκροαθῶν, ἐποκρυπτομῶν ἢ ἢ ἀφροσύνη πῶμεν τὰ βαθυτέρα τῆς συνερχομένους, ἢ δεομένους λόγων τρηπικῶς ὀνομαζομένων γάλα. Idem, ibidem, p. 143.

cealed from them those deep and recondite Points.

§. 11. As for the Preacher himself, it was usually the Bishop of the Parish. So saith Justin Martyr, * The Bi-

* Ὁ πρεσβυτέρως διάλογον τὴν νεβειαν, ἢ πρὸς κλησιν τῶν καλῶν τέτων μιμίσεως ποῖται. Apolog. 2. p. 98.

on of all, either † by way of Exhortation to Piety and Vertue, or by way of Dehortation from Vice and Impiety. Always accommodating their Discourses to the Capacities of their Hearers. † If their Auditors were prudent and understanding, then they scrupled not to treat of the profound Mysteries of the Gospel; but if they had attained no great measure of Knowledge, and had need of Milk, as the Apostle, stiles it, then they concealed those deep and recondite Points. Or else he desired a Presbyter, or some other fit Person to preach in his room; without his Consent it had been Schism and Violence in any Person whatsoever to have usurped his Chair, but with his Permission any Clergyman or Layman might preach in his Pulpit. Now that Clergymen preach'd no one will question, tho' it will be doubted,

ed, whether Laymen did: But that they did so appears from a memorable History concerning *Origen*, who going from *Alexandria* into *Palestina*, by the Desire of the Bishops of that Country, publickly Preach'd in the Church, and expounded the Holy Scriptures, although he was not yet in Holy Orders. At which Action, when *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria* was offended, *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theoctistus* of *Cæsarea* writ to him in defence of it as follows, * *Whereas you write*

in your Letter, that it was never before seen or done, That Laymen should preach in the presence of Bishops, therein you wander from the Truth; for wheresoever any are found, that are fit to profit the Brethren, the Holy Bishops of their own accord ask them to Preach unto the People. So Evelpis was desired by Neon Bishop of Laranda, and Paulinus by Celsus of Iconium, and Theodorus by Atticus of Synnada, our most blessed Brethren; and it is credible, that this is likewise done in other

Places, though we know it not. But yet though Laymen Preach'd, it was not every one that did so, but only those, that were ἐπιτιμίδιοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, fit to profit the Brethren; and

* Προσέθηκε ἢ τοῖς γραμμασιν, ὅτι τῆτο εἰδέποτε ἠκρόθη εἰδὲ νῦν γενέσθαι, τὸ παρῆλιων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκὰς ὁμιλεῖν, ἔκ οἷδ' ὅπως θεωρητῶς ἐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ὅπερ γὰρ εὐερίσκονται οἱ ἐπιτιμίδιοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ ὡς ἀκαλεῖν τὴν λαὸν θεωρομιλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισκόπων, ὡς περ ἐν Λαρυάνδοις Ἐυελπίς ὑπὸ Νέων, καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ Παυλῖνον ὑπὸ Κέλσου, καὶ ἐν Συναδόσι Θεόδωρον ὑπὸ Ἀττικῆ τῶν μακαρίων ἀδελφῶν, εἰκὸς ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις τῆτο γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς ἢ μὴ εἰδέναι. Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 19. p. 222.

and though they were never so fit, yet they did not irregularly or disorderly run about a Preaching, or discharge that Sacred Office, till they were desired by the Bishop of a Parish to do it, *ἢ θεσκαλέν) τῷ λαῷ θεστομιλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων,* but stayed for the Permission and Approbation of such an one; for without that, their Sermons and Discourses would have been but so many Acts of Schism and Faction.

C H A P. II.

§. 1. *After Preaching all the Congregation rose up to joyn in publick Prayers.* §. 2. *They prayed towards the East. Their Reasons for that Custom.* §. 3. *They lifted up their Hands and Eyes towards Heaven.* §. 4. *Whether the Minister that Officiated wore a Surplice, and therein of Ministers Habits.* §. 5. *Whether they Sung their Prayers, and whether they used Responsals.* §. 6. *Of prescribed Liturgies. The Lord's Prayer not always, but commonly used by them.* §. 7. *To the Lord's Prayer they added other Prayers of their own Choice or Invention, proved so to have been.* §. 8. *Whether their Prayers were divided into several Collects.*

§. 1. **A**S soon as the Sermon was ended, then all the Congregation rose up to present their Common and Publick Prayers unto Almighty God, as *Justin Martyr* writes, that when the Preacher had finished his Discourse, * *They all rose up, and offered their Prayers, unto God.* Standing being the usual Posture of Praying (at least the constant one on *Sundays*, on which Day they esteemed it a Sin to kneel) whence the Preacher frequently concluded his Sermon with an Exhortation to his Auditors, to stand up and pray to God, as we find it more than once in the

* Ἐπειτα ἀνστάντες καὶ ἤψαλλον, ἢ εὐχὰς παρέποιον. *Apolog.* 2. pag. 98.

* Διὸ ἀναστάντες τὴν ἄπὸ
 Θεοῦ βοήθειαν αἰτήσωμεν,
 ἵνα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μακα-
 ριοθῶμεν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς
 τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων,
 Ἀμήν. Hom. 19. in
 Jerem. Vol. 1. p. 198.

† Quapropter confurgen-
 gentes deprecemur Do-
 minum, ut digni efficia-
 mur—Christo Jesu, cui
 est Gloria & Imperium
 in Sæcula Sæculorum,
 Amen. Homil. 2. in Can-
 tic.

‡ Surgentes per Christum
 Sacrificia Patri offeramus,
 ipse enim propitiatio est
 pro peccatis nostris, cui
 est Gloria & Imperium
 in Sæcula Sæculorum. In
 Isaiam. Homil. 1.

Conclusion of Origen's
 Sermons, as * Wherefore
 standing up, let us beg help
 from God, that we may
 be blessed in Jesus Christ,
 to whom be Glory for ever
 and ever, Amen. And,
 † wherefore rising up, let
 us pray to God, that we
 may be made worthy of
 Jesus Christ, to whom be
 Glory and Dominion for
 ever and ever, Amen.
 ‡ And again, Standing
 up let us offer Sacrifices
 to the Father through Christ,
 who is the Propitiation
 for our Sins, to whom
 be Glory and Domi-
 nion for ever and ever,
 Amen.

§. 2. Accordingly the
 whole Congregation stood up, and turned their
 Faces towards the East, it being their Custom
 and Manner to pray towards that Quarter, as
 Tertullian writes, * We
 pray towards the East. Now
 the Reasons that I meet
 with for this Usage, may
 be reduced to these Three or Four.

I. Out of Respect and Reverence to their
 Lord and Master Jesus Christ, they prayed to-
 wards the East, because the East is a Title gi-
 ven to Christ in the Old Testament; for that
 Place

Place in *Zach. 6. 12.* Behold the Man whose Name is the Branch, they Translated according to the Septuagint, * Be-

hold the Man whose Name is the East, which misapprehension of the Word Branch, arose from the different Significations or

Applications of the Greek Word, by which the Septuagint expressed it. In the Original Hebrew the Word is פְּרִיץ , which signifies an arising or sprouting out, as doth a Branch from a Root. The Word by which they render'd it in Greek, is ἀνατολή , which in a large Sense comprehends all sorts of arising and springing out; but strictly and generally is apply'd to the arising and first appearing of the Sun, and by a Metonymy, is appropriated to the East, because the Sun arises in that Quarter. The Fathers therefore not knowing the Original, and finding Christ to be called in their Ordinary Version ἀνατολή , presently concluded, that according to the usual signification of the Word, he was there termed by the Prophet, *The East*, whom they conceived to be so called, because

* he was to arise like a Star: And, || as the Sun that arises in the East penetrates thro' the World with its warm and illuminating Rays; So Christ the Sun of Righteousness would

$\text{τῷ νῦν εἰσδύνων, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ λόγος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῷ. καὶ πάλιν ἀνατολή ὄνομα αὐτῷ. Ib. Ibid. p. 350.$

* Καὶ ἄλλη ἡ γραφή φησιν ἴδε ἀνὴρ ἀνατολή ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Justin Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 334.

* Ὅτι ὡς ἄστρον ἔμελλεν ἀναίμεν. Idem, Ibidem, p 334.

|| Πυρῶδες ἔσεται καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ δὲ ἀληθείας καὶ σοφίας λόγος, καὶ φωσιώτερος μάλλον τῶν ἡλίου δυνάμεων ὅτι, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐπιφανῆ τῆς ἡλίου ἀναίμεν. Ib. Ibid.

arise with more warmth of Light, and pierce farther than the material Sun, even into the Depths of Mens Hearts and Minds. Hence the East is called

* Orientem Christi figuram. *Advers. Valentin.* p. 284.

by *Tertullian*, * *A Typ of Christ*, and for this Reason we may very well suppose, that they pray-

ed towards the East, as well as built their Churches toward it, which that they did, we shall shew in its proper place.

II. Another Reason might be with respect to the Similitude of the rising of the Sun, with our Spiritual arising out of the Darkness of Sin and Corruption, which I find thus expressed

† Ἐπι τῷ γενεθλίῳ ἡμέρας εἰκῶν ἢ ἀνατολῇ κακῆ-
θέν τὸ φῶς ἀύξει) ἐκ σκο-
της λάμψαν τὸ φῶτον,
ἀλλὰ ἢ τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κα-
λιπιδυμφοῖς ἀνέτειλε γνώσεως
ἀληθείας ἡμέρα κτ) λόγον
τῆ ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην
ἀνατολῇ, αἱ θυγαῖ ὄθεν,
ἢ τὰ παλαίτια τῶν ἱερῶν
πρὸς δύσιν ἔβλεπεν, ἵνα
οἱ ἀπαῖτες πρὸς ὄψον τῶν
ἀγαλμάτων ἱσάμενοι πρὸς
ἀνατολὴν πρὸς πρὸς διδασ-
κῶν). *Stromat. lib. 7.*
p. 520.

by *Clemens Alexandrinus*,
† *Let Prayers be made to-
wards the East, because the
East is the Representation
of our Spiritual Nativity:*
*As from thence Light first
arose, shining out of Dark-
ness; so according to that
rising of the Sun, the Day
of true Knowledge arose on
those, who lay buried in
Ignorance; whence the an-
cient Temples looked to-
wards the West, that so they
who stood against the Images*

therein, might be forced to look towards the East.

III. *Origen* advises to pray towards the Eastern Climate, to denote our Diligence in the Service of God, in being more forward to arise and set about it, than the Sun is to run his daily Course,

Course, for which he produces an Apocryphal Text, *Wisdom* 16. 28.

* That it might be known, that we must prevent the Sun to give thee thanks, and at the Day spring pray unto thee.

IV. Another Reason for their praying towards the East, was their Opinion of the Excellency of this Quarter above others, which Argument *Origen* thus delivers, as well as I can translate it. † Whereas

there are four Climates, the North and South, the West and East, who will not acknowledge that we ought to pray looking towards the East, symbolically representing thereby, our Souls beholding the arising of the true Light? If a Man, which way soever the Doors of his House are placed, would rather make his Prayers towards the Windows, saying, That the sight of the

* Περί τῆς κλίματις ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ Σολομώντις, ὁσῶς γνωστὸν ἢ ὅτι δεῖ φθάσειν τὸ ἥλιον ἐπὶ εὐχαριστίας σοῦ, καὶ δεῖ ἀνατολῆς φωτὸς ἐντυγχάνειν σοι. De Oratione, §. 20. p. 127.

† Τεσσάρων τῶν ὀρίων κλιμάτων, τέτε πρὸς ἀρκίον καὶ μεσίμβριαν, καὶ τέτε πρὸς δύσιν καὶ ἀνατολῆν, τίς ἐκ αὐτῶν δεῖ ὁμολογῆσαι τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολῆν ἐνεργῶς ἐμφαίνειν τὸ δεῖν ἐκεῖ νεύουσις συμβολικῶς, ὡς τῆ ψυχῆς ἐνορώσεως τῇ τῆ ἀληθινῆς φωτὸς ἀνατολῆς, ποιεῖσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς; εἰάν τῆ ἐπεδύποισε τῶν θυρῶν τῆ οἴκου ἰδυσῶν, βέλεια μάλλον καὶ τὸ ἀνεωγὸς τῆ οἰκίας προσφέρειν τὰς ἐπιθέσεις, λέγων τιμὴ εἰς τὸ ἔρανον ὀψιν ἐχέειν τι μάλλον προσκαλεσθῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τῆ ἐπι

τῆ τῆ ἐπιβλέψεως, εἰ τύχοιεν μὴ ἀνεωγῶτα τῆ οἴκου τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολῆς, λέγειον πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι δεῖσι τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰδε τὰ κλίματα, ἢ τὰδε ἀνεωγῶν, φύσει τῆ ἀνατολῆς τῶν λοιπῶν προσκαλεσθῶν κλιμάτων, τὸ φύσει τῆ δεῖσι προσκαλεσθῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἐν πεδίῳ εὐσταθῶς βεβλόμενος, τί μάλλον καὶ τέτον ἢ ἐπὶ δύσιν προσκαλεσθῶν, εἰ τῆ ἐκεῖ προσκαλεσθῶν τὰς ἀνατολῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐλογόν, δεῖσι τῆτο εὐσταθῶς ποιηθῶν; de Oratione, §. 21.

P. 133, 134.

Sky hath something more peculiar in it, to stir up his Affection, than his looking against a Wall. Or if it so happen, that the Windows of his House do not look towards the East, that happened from the Arbitrary Structure of the Builder, but not from Nature, which prefers the East before the other Quarters, and Nature is to be preferred before that Building. Or if any one will pray in the open Field, will he not pray rather towards the East, than towards the West? And if in these things the East is preferred before the West, why is it not so also in every other thing besides?

For these four Reasons now, but principally I suppose for the first, they usually prayed towards the East, inasmuch that for their Worshipping towards this Quarter, and for their Religious Observation of the Lord's Day, or Sunday, so called, because Dedicated to the Sun, they

* Inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis Regionem precari. Tertul. Apol. 16. p. 688.

* were accused by the Heathens of Reverencing and Adoring the Sun.

§. 3. The Congregation being thus turned towards the East, they put themselves into a Posture of Prayer, stretching out their Hands, and lifting up their Eyes towards Heaven,

† Προσημαίνοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἢ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ἄνω ἀέθρα. Stromat. lib. 7. p. 519.

|| Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis. Apolog. c. 30. p. 703.

as Clemens Alexandrinus writes, † We lift up our Head, and stretch out our Hands towards Heaven. And so Tertullian, || We pray looking up to Heaven, with expanded Hands, by this devout posture imi-

tating

tating * the lifting up of their Hearts to God in the Heavens. Wherefore, as now to quicken the Peoples Devotion, the Minister before Prayer excites them thereunto, by saying, *Let us pray*; So in the African Churches, in Cyprian's Days, the Minister † Prefac'd in his Prayer, by saying to the People, Lift up your Hearts, To which the People to testify their Consent, answered, We lift them up unto the Lord.

* Οἰοεὶ ἢ εἰκόνα τῶν ἀρεπῶν ἰδιωμάτων, &c. Origen. de Orat. §. 20. p. 128.

† Sacerdos ante Orationem Præfatione præmissa parat Fratrum mentes dicendo, Sursum corda, & respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum. Cyprian. de Orat. Dominic. §. 22. p. 316.

§. 4. After this the Minister began to Pray. But before we handle his Prayer, it may not be unnecessary to consider in what Habit he officiated, whether in a Surplice, or no. His usual Garb was a *Pallium*, which is the same with what we call a *Cloak*. This as being the most simple and plain Garment was commonly worn by the Christians; the usual Garb throughout the whole Roman Empire was the *Toga*, which was more gay and splendid than the *Pallium*; wherefore those who came over from Paganism to Christianity, for the Indication of their Humility and Contempt of the World, quitted the *Toga*, as too pompous and mandane, and assumed the *Pallium* or *Cloak*, as more

|| Pallio nihil expeditius, — quippe tota molitio ejus operire est solutum, id est, uno circumjectu — ita omnia hominis simul contegit. Tertul. de Pallio, p. 490.

grave and modest ; from which change of Apparel, and renouncing of a sumptuous Habit, to embrace a poor and mean one, the Heathens derided and exposed the Christians, even to a Proverb, à *Toga ad Pallium*, which Sarcastical Language engaged *Tertullian* to write a little Tract in Defence of the Cloak, which is still extant in his Writings, under the Title of *De Pallio*.

* *Primitive Christianity*,
Part 2. c. 3. p. 47.

But *Salmasius* and
* *Dr. Cave*, think this
severe Habit was not
worn by all Christians,

but only by those of them that led a more austere and mortified Life, such as the Clergy, and some self-denying Personages amongst the Laity, and that therefore it is called by *Tertullian* in the aforementioned Tract, *Sacerdotis Habitus*, or *Priests Apparel*, as it is in all ancient Manuscripts, and in the first Edition of *Beatus Rbeanus*, and not *Sacer Habitus*, *The Holy Apparel*, as it is in the later Editions. But whether it were so or no, I shall not here debate. This is sufficient for my purpose, that the Clergy usually wore a Cloak. But now, that in times of Publick Prayer, they should put a Surplice or any other kind of Linnen Garment over their Cloaks, neither *Tertullian*, nor any other, speak the least Syllable of it : Instead of putting another Vestment on their Gown or Cloak, *Tertullian* mentions some in his Days, who at Prayers would throw off their Gown or Cloak, which he condemns as a Superstitious Affectation, and an Heathenish Custom. So, saith he,

* *the Heathens pray to their Gods, which if it ought to have been done, would have been enjoined by the Apostles, who have given Directions concerning the manner of Prayer; unless some think, that when Paul had put off his Cloak at Prayer, he forgot it and left it behind him at Carpus's.*

§. 5. But quitting the Habit of him that Officiated, let us return to his Prayer, which he

pronounced † *with a modest and bashful Voice*, that being most proper for those, who came to ac-

knowledge the multitude and heinousness of their Sins, and to beg God's Pardon and Grace which is the End and Design of Prayer. Musical Singing is best agreeable to the praising and adoring of God; || *but*

our Petitions to God ought to be sent up with most fervent Prayers, with Tears, and Cries, and Groans.

* *Quorundam positis penulis Orationem facere: sic enim adeunt ad idola nationes: quod utique si fieri oppoteret, Apostoli qui de habitu Orandi docent, comprehendissent, nisi si qui putant Paulum penulam suam in Oratione penes Carpum reliquisse. De Oratione, p. 659.*

† *Modestis precibus orare. Cyprian. de Orat. Dominic. §. 2. p. 309.*

|| *Enixis precibus, lacrymis ingemiscamus, precibus, gemitibus, lachrymæ. Cyprian. Epist. 8. p. 23.*

Doubtless the Minister so prayed, as did most affect the People, whose Mouth he was to God; for they did not vocally join with him in the Prayers, but only testified their Assent to what the Minister prayed, by saying *Amen*, or *So be it*. Thus in the Prayer at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, the President of the Assen-

Assembly only prayed, and the People concurred with the *Amen*. So writes *Justin Martyr*,

* Παρ' αὐτῶ ἐπὶ πολλοὺ ποι-
εῖτο, ἔ συνελήσαντο τὰς
εὐχὰς ἢ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν,
πᾶς ὁ παρῶν λαὸς ἐπαφι-
μεῖ λέγων, Ἀμὲν. Αρ-
λογ. 2. p. 97.

† Ἐυχαιρίσαντο ὃ τῶ
θεοεῶν τῶ ἢ ἐπαφιμύ-
σαντο πάντος τῶ λαῶ.
Ibid. p. 97.

|| Ἐυχὰς ὁμοίως ἢ εὐχα-
ριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῶ
ἀναπέμπει, ἢ ὁ λαὸς ἐπα-
φιμεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμὲν.
Ibid. p. 98.

tioned by *Dionysius Alexandrinus* in his Epistle to *Xystus*, is said, *

* Ἐυχαιρίας ὃ ἐπαχι-
σαντα, ἢ συνεπιφθεγξαμε-
ρον τὸ Ἀμὲν. Apud Eu-
seb. lib. 7. c. 9. p. 255.

ed, *Amen*. *Henricus Valesius* in his Notes on this Place; as likewise *Dr. Hammond* in his Annotations on 1 Cor. 14. think that *St. Paul* had reference to this Custom of the People's saying *Amen*, at the Conclusion of the Eucharistical Prayer, in 1 Cor. 14. 16. Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say *Amen*, at thy giving of Thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? In which place *St. Paul* condemns as absurd

furd and senseless, the Practice of some Men, who would consecrate the Sacrament in Hebrew or Syriack before Greeks, who understanding not those Tongues, could not bear their share in the Eucharistical Prayer, which consisted not in Antiphonal or Responsory Replies to the Minister, but only in saying *Amen*, or *So be it*, to what he had pray'd.

It is true indeed, that these Citations are spoken in particular of the Prayer before the Lord's Supper; but yet they may be also applied to their Prayer after Sermon, since we have no reason to imagine, that in the one they should use Responsals, and in the other none. But that in all their Prayers the Priest only pray'd, seems to be apparent, from that it was one part of his Office, to pray for the People:

* *The Priests, says Cyprian, pray for the safety of the Lord's People. And*

† *the Priests who have Sacrificed to Idols, cannot assume to themselves the Priesthood, or make any Prayer in God's sight for the Brethren. || Therefore those ought to be chosen into the Priesthood, whom God will hear. It was*

the Priest that solely pronounced the Publick Prayers without the Voices of the People: And

indeed it was impossible for the People to respond, since they had no fixed publick Form of Prayer,

* In precibus quas faciunt pro Plebis Dominicæ incolumitate. *Epist.* 68. §. 2. p. 201.

† Qui idolis sacrificando sacrilega Sacrificia fecerunt, Sacerdotium Dei sibi vindicare non possunt, nec ullam in conspectu ejus precem pro Fratibus facere. *Epist.* 64. §. 2. p. 190.

|| Oportet eos ad Sacerdotium deligi, quos a Deo constet audiri. *Epist.* 68. §. 3. p. 201.

Prayer, except the Lord's Prayer, which Lord's Prayer, they frequently, though not always, repeated: And then as to their other Prayers, every Bishop or Minister of a Parish, was left to his own Liberty and Ability therein.

§. 6. As for the use of the Lord's Prayer, it must first be observed, that the constant repeating of it with other Prayers, was not esteemed necessary, but frequently it was omitted. Thus in the Heavenly Prayer of *Poly- carpus* at the Stake, the Lord's Prayer is neither at beginning nor ending. The Con-

* Σε αἰῶν, σε ἐυλογῶ, σε
δοξάζω, διὰ τῆ αἰωνίᾳ ἀρ-
χιερείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆ ἀ-
γαπῆτῆ σε παύδος, δι' ἧ σοῦ
σὺν ᾧπαρ ἐν πανταμασί ἁγίῳ
δόξῃ, ἢ νῦν, ἢ εἰς τὰς
μύλλοιτας αἰῶνας, Ἀμήν.
Apuđ Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15.
p. 133.

clusion of it is, * Lord I will praise thee, I will bless thee, I will magnifie thee, through the Eternal High Priest Christ Jesus thy beloved Son, by whom to thee, with him, and the Holy Ghost, be Glory now, and for evermore, Amen. So

Clemens Alexandrinus concludes his last Book of *Pædagogus*, with a Prayer, which neither ends nor begins with the Lord's Prayer; and *Origen* prescribing a Method of Prayer, speaks not a

Word of the Lord's Prayer, but † advises both to begin and end with

Doxology, or a giving Praise to God. In this Respect they regarded the Lord's Prayer, as given by Christ for a Pattern of all other Prayers, according to which they were to be made; whence *Cyprian* calls this

this

this Prayer, * *the Law or Rule of praying*; † *so that to pray otherwise than that Prayer directed was Ignorance and Impiety*. Wherefore, says Cyprian, * *Let every one pray to God, not only for himself, but for all the Brethren, as the Lord hath taught us to pray for all*. And so writes Clemens Alexandrinus, † *that a good Man never remembers the Affronts that are offered him, but always forgets them; wherefore he justly prays, saying, Forgive us as we forgive others; that is, he prays according to the Sense of the fifth Petition; for it is the Sense, not the very Words of that Petition, that he here recites*.

But tho' the Repetition of the Lord's Prayer was not necessary, yet it was usual; whence saith Origen, * *Christ gave us a Prayer, with which he commanded us to pray unto the Father*. And Tertullian writes, † *That our Lord Jesus Christ gave to his Disciples a new Form of Prayer*. Whence he calls the Lord's Prayer, * *The lawful Prayer*. And

* Orandi legem. *De Unit. Ecclesiæ*, §. 11. p. 299.

† Ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit, sed & culpa. *De Orat. Dominic.* §. 1. p. 309.

* Unusquisque oret Deum non pro se tantum, sed pro omnibus fratribus, sicut Dominus orare nos docuit. *Epist.* 8. §. 6. p. 24.

† Οὐδέποτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαρτησάντων μέμνηται, ἀλλὰ ἀφίησι, διὸ καὶ δικαίως εὐχέσθαι, ἀφες ἡμῖν, λέγων, καὶ ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν. *Strom.* lib. 7. p. 537.

* Qua patrem—nos iussit orare. *In Isaiam*, *Homil.* 1.

† Novam orationis formam determinavit. *De Oratione*, p. 657.

* Legitima Oratio. *De fugâ in Persecut.* p. 436.

* Orandi ipse formam dedit, ipse quid precaremur monuit & instruxit: Qui fecit vivere, docuit & orare—ut dum prece & oratione quam filius docuit, apud patrem loquimur, facilius audiamur—Quæ enim potest esse magis spiritualis Oratio, quam quæ verè à Christo nobis data est, à quo nobis & Spiritus Sanctus missus est? Quæ verè magis apud Patrem precatio, quam quæ à filio, qui est veritas, de ejus ore prolata est? Ut aliter orare quam docuit, non ignorantia sola sit sed & culpa—Oremus itaque fratres dilectissimi, sicut Magister Deus docuit. Amica & familiaris Oratio est Deum de suo rogare, ad aures ejus ascendere Christi orationem, agnoscat pater filii sui verba: cum precem facimus, qui habitat intus in pectore, ipse sit & in voce: & cum ipsum habeamus apud patrem advocatum pro peccatis nostris quando peccatores pro delictis nostris petimus, advocati nostri verba premamus. Nam cum dicat, quia quodcunque petierimus à Patre in nomine ejus, dabit nobis: quanto efficacius impetramus quod petimus in Christi nomine, si petamus ipsius oratione? *De Orat. Dominic. § 1, 2. p. 309.*

*Cyprian yet more fully writes, that * Christ hath given us a Form of Prayer, he hath admonished and instructed what we should pray for: He that made us live, hath taught us to pray, that whilst we offer unto the Father, the Prayer which the Son taught, we may be the more easily heard.—For what Prayer can be more Spiritual, than that which was given us by Christ, who gave us also the Holy Spirit? And what Prayer can be more prevalent with God, than that of his Son, who is the Truth, proceeding out of his Mouth? So that to pray otherwise than he hath taught, is both Ignorance and Impiety. Let us pray therefore, dearly beloved Brethren, as God our Master hath taught us: It is a friendly and familiar*

Prayer to ask God with his own, and to present the Prayer of Christ to his Ears; the Father will acknowledge his Sons Words. When we pray, let him that dwells in the Heart, be in the Voice; and since we have him an Advocate with the Father for our Sins, when we beg pardon for our Sins, let us use the Words of our Advocate; and since he says, that whatsoever we shall ask of the Father in his Name, he will give it us; how much more efficaciously shall we prevail for what we beg in Christ's Name, if we ask it in his Prayer? To this Prayer it is that Tertullian gives this Encomium,

* In the Compendium of a few Words, how many Declarations of Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles; how many Speeches, Parables, Examples and Precepts are contained! How many Duties towards God! Honour to God in the Preface, Faith in the first Petition, Hope in the Second, Resignation in the Third, Petition for Life in the Fourth. Confession of Sins in the Fifth. Watchfulness against Temptations in the Sixth. What Wonder! God alone could teach, how he would be prayed to.

* Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta Prophetarum, Evangeliorum, Apostolorum, sermones Domini, parabola, exempla, praecipua, quot simul expunguntur Officia Dei, honor in patre; fides, testimonium in nomine, oblatio obsequij in voluntate, commemoratio spei in Regno, petitio vitae in pane, exomologesis debitorum in deprecatione, sollicitudo temptationum in postulatione tutelae. Quid mirum! Deus solus docere potuit, ut se vellet orari. *De Orat.* p. 659.

§. 7. But tho' they frequently used the Lord's Prayer, yet they did not only use that, but other Prayers also; for immediately to the foregoing Encomium of the Lord's Prayer, Tertulian

* *Posse nos super adjicere — & sunt quæ petantur pro circumstantiâ cujusque. De Oratione, p. 659.*

*lian adjoyns, * That we may add thereunto, and offer up Prayers unto God according to the Variety of our Circumstances and Conditions.* From which

Passage of the said Father, we may guess their usual Method of Prayer was first to begin with the Lord's Prayer, as the Ground and Foundation of all others, and then according to their Circumstances and Conditions to offer up their own Prayers and Requests. Now that this Conjecture may appear to have some Foundation, it will be necessary to translate at large this place of *Tertullian*, and to shew the Introduction or Occasion of it, which was this: After this Father had, as before, Commented on, summ'd up, and magnify'd the Lord's Prayer, he con-

† *Posse nos super adjicere. Quoniam tamen Dominus prospector humanarum necessitatum seorsim post traditam orandi Disciplinam, Petite, inquit, & accipietis, & sunt quæ petantur, pro circumstantiâ cujusque, præmissâ legitimâ & ordinariâ Oratione quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones, cum memoria tamen præceptorum: Ne quantum à præceptis tantum ab auribus Dei longè simus. Memoria Præceptorum viam orationibus sternit ad Cælum quorum præcipuum est. Ibid. p. 659.*

cludes, that nevertheless, † *We may add thereunto; for since the Lord, the Observer of all Humane Necessities, has in another place, after he had delivered this Prayer, said, Ask and ye shall receive: And every one has particular Circumstances to beg for; therefore having pre-*

mis'd the lawful and ordinary Prayer, there is place for accidental Requests, and a Liberty of offering up other Petitions, so as they do agree with the Precepts: As far as we are from the Precepts, so far are we from God's Ears; the remembrance of the Precepts makes way for our Prayers to Heaven, of which it is the chief.

Now these other Prayers, which made up a great part of Divine Service, were not stinted and impos'd Forms, but the Words and Expressions of them were left to the Prudence, Choice, and Judgment of every particular Bishop or Minister.

I do not here say, that a Bishop or Minister used no Arbitrary Form of Prayer; all that I say is, that there was none imposed: Neither do I say, that having no imposed Form, they unpremeditatedly, immethodically, or confusedly vented their Petitions and Requests; for without doubt they observed a Method in their Prayers; but this is what I say, That the Words or Expressions of their Prayers were not imposed or prescribed, but every one that officiated, deliver'd himself in such Terms as best pleased him, and varied his Petitions according to the present Circumstances and Emergencies: Or if it be more intelligible, that the Primitive Christians had no stinted Liturgies, or imposed Forms of Prayer.

Now this being a Negative in Matter of Fact, the bare Assertion of it is a sufficient Proof, except its Affirmative can be evinced. Suppose it was disputed, whether ever St. Paul writ an Epistle to the Church of Rome, the bare Negation thereof would be Proof enough that he did not, except it could be clearly evidenced on the

contrary that he did : So unless it can be proved that the Ancients had fixed Liturgies and Prayer-Books, we may very rationally conclude in the Negative, that they had none at all.

Now as to these prescribed Forms, there is not the least mention of them in any of the Primitive Writings, nor the least Word or Syllable tending thereunto that I can find, which is a most unaccountable Silence, if ever such there were, but rather some Expressions intimating the contrary ; as that famous controverted place of *Justin Martyr*, who describing the manner of the Prayer before the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, says, That the Bishop sent up Prayers and Praises to

* *Apolog.* 2. p. 98.

God * *with his utmost ability*, ὁσὸν δύναιμι, that is,

that he prayed with the best of his Abilities, Invention, Expression, Judgment and the like. I am not ignorant that there is another Sense given of ὁσὸν δύναιμι, or, *According to his Ability*, But I must needs say, that I generally, if not always found this Phrase to include personal Abilities. Thus as to the Explanation of Scripture, *Origen* writes, that he would expound it,

† *Com. in Matth. Tom. 17.*
p. 487. Vol. 1.

† *according to his Ability*, ὁσὸν δύναιμι, and that he would Comment on that Parable of the blind Man, that was healed near *Jericho*, mention'd in *Luke* 18. 35. || κατὰ τὸ δύναιμι.

|| *Com. in Matth. Tom. 16.*
p. 429. Vol. 1.

And so on the Parable concerning the Husbandman ; † κατὰ δύναιμι ; and on the Marriage of the King's

† *Ibid. Tom. 17. p. 463.*

King's Son, * *κτ' τλω ιπα-
ρεσαν δυναμιν;* and that he

* *Ibid. Tom. 17. p. 474.*

would search out the Sense of the Gospel of

St. John, † *καλα δυναμιν.*

† *Com. in Johan. Tom. 1. p. 5. Vol. 2.*

Now what doth Origen intend, by his searching

out the Sense, and expounding the meaning of the Scriptures to the utmost of his Power and Ability? Is it a bare reading and transcribing of other Mens Works, or an Employment of his own Abilities and Studies to find out the Sense and meaning of them? Certainly every one will think the latter to be most probable.

So as to the Argumentative Defence of the Truth, Origen promises that he would answer the Calumnies of Celsus,

|| *according to his Power,*

|| *Contra Celsum, lib. 1. p. 2.*

καλα τλω παρεσαν δυναμιν.

and that he would defend

and confirm his Arguments against Celsus

* *according to his Power,*

* *Ibid. lib. 1. p. 36.*

οση δυναμιν. and demonstrate the Reasonableness of the Christian Religion,

† *according to his*

† *Ibid. lib. 6. p. 265.*

Power, οση δυναμιν and

dispute against Celsus,

* *according to his Power,*

* *Ibid. lib. 7. p. 332.*

οση δυναμιν. Now whether

Origen's defending the Truth, and disputing against Celsus according to his utmost Ability and Power, consisted in a reading, or in a bare transcribing out of a Book, the written Arguments of other Men, or in an Employ-

ment of his own Abilities, Inventions and Expressions, is no difficult matter to determine.

I have not found one place, wherein this Phrase of ὅση δύναμις doth not comprehend personal Abilities; and several scores more might I cite, where it is so to be understood, which I shall omit, and mention only one more, spoken by *Origen* with respect to this Duty of Prayer, where it must of necessity imply personal Abi-

lities, and that is in his
* §. 22. p. 134. Book * *De Oratione*, where
he prescribes the Me-

thods and Parts of Prayer, the first whereof was *Doxology*; wherein, says he, he that prays must bless God according to his Power, κατὰ δύναμιν, where κατὰ δύναμιν must signify the Performer's Abilities of Judgment and Expression, because it is not spoken of prescribed Words, but of a prescribed Method of Prayer; as if any one should desire me to inform him, how, or in what Method he must pray; I tell him, as *Origen* doth in this place, that first he must begin with an Invocation of God by his Titles and Attributes; then he must proceed to praise God for his Mercies and Benefits, confessing withal his Ingratitude and Unfruitfulness; then beg pardon for past Sins, strength against future, and conclude all with praising God through Christ, and that he must do all this according to the utmost of his Ability. What could any one imagine, that I should intend by this Advice of following this Method to the utmost of his Power, but by the exerting of his

own Abilities, Understanding, Memory, Invention, Expression, and the like, since I direct him not to any prescribed Words, but only to the Observation of those General Heads and Parts of Prayer?

So that the Ministers Praying ὅση δύναμις, or according to the utmost of his Ability, imports the exerting his Gifts and Parts in suitable Matter and apt Expressions; and that the Primitive Prayers were so, appears yet farther from a Passage in Origen, who thus explains that Verse in *Matth. 6*. But when ye pray, use not vain Repetitions as the Heathens do,

** But when we pray, let us not Battologise, that is, use not vain Repetitions, but Theologise: But we Battologise, when we do not strictly observe our Selves, or the Words of Prayer, which we express when we utter those things which are filthy either to do, speak, or think, which are vile, worthily reprobable, and alienated from the*

Purity of the Lord. Surely this Caution had been needless of strictly observing the Words that they uttered, and this Fear had been groundless of expressing themselves undecently or sinfully, if they had had a Prayer-Book to recur to; but that they had no such Prayer-Book appears yet more evidently from *Tertulian*, who describing their Publick Prayers, says

** Ἀλλὰ προσευχόμενοι, μὴ βαττολογίσωμεν, ἀλλὰ θεολογίσωμεν. βαττολογεῖμεν δὲ ὅτι μὴ μωμοσκοπέητες ἑαυτῶν ἢ τῶν ἀναπεμπομένων τῶ ἐν χῆς λόγους λέγομεν τὰ διαφθαρμένα ἔργα, ἢ λόγους, ἢ νοήματα ταπεινά τυχεύοντα καὶ ἐπίληπτα, τῶ ἀφθαρσίας ἀνόμια τῶ κυρίου.*
De Oratione, §. 10.
p. 63.

* *Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus. Apolog. c. 30. p. 703.*

that * *looking up to Heaven, they spread abroad their Hands because innocent; uncovered their Heads, because not ashamed; and without a Monitor, because they prayed from the Heart.* Now

what is to be understood by praying from the Heart, will best appear from enquiring into what is opposed to it, *viz.* The Praying by a Monitor. Now the praying by a Monitor, as is acknowledg'd by all, was praying by a Book. But thus *Tertullian* affirms the Primitive Christians prayed not: We do not pray, saith he, with a Monitor, reading our Prayers out of a Book. No, but on the contrary, we pray *de Pectore, from the Heart*, our own Heart, and Soul dictating to us, what is most proper and suitable to be asked, having no need of any other Monitor besides.

Hence their Prayers were suited to their Emergencies and present Circumstances, as *Tertullian* writes, that † *having premised the Lord's Prayer, we may offer up accidental Requests and Petitions*, of which occasional

Requests we find some Instances, as in the sixteenth Epistle of *Cyprian*, where that Father assures *Moses* and *Maximus*, two Roman

† *Et quando in Sacrificiis precem cum plurimis facimus. Epist. 16. §. 1. p. 44.*

Confessors, || *That he remembered them in his Publick Prayers with his Congregation.* And in another

ther Epistle where he congratulates Pope *Lucius* upon his Return from Banishment, he assures him, † *That he did not*

cease in his publick Prayers to bless God for so great a Mercy, and to pray him that was perfect, to keep and perfect in him the glorious Crown of his Confession. And so when

the Church of *Carthage* sent a Sum of Money to the Bishops of *Numidia*, for the Redemption of some Christian Captives, they desired those Bishops

|| *to remember them in their publick Prayers.*

So that their Prayers could not be stinted, invariable Forms, because they could add new Petitions, as their Occasions and Circumstances did require.

Firmilian reports of an Exorcist Woman, that being acted by the Devil, she did wondrous Feats, taking upon her to perform Ecclesiastical Administrations, as to Baptize and Celebrate the Eucharist, the Elements whereof she Consecrated, † *with an*

Invocation not to be despised, that is, as seems to be most agreeable un-

to the Place, and to the *don d'urais* of *Justin Martyr*. The Matter, Invention and Expression of that Prayer, wherewith she consecrated

† Hic quoque in Sacrificiis atque in Orationibus nostris non cessantes Deo—gratias agere, & orare pariter, ac petere, ut qui perfectus est atq; perficiens, custodiat & perficiat in vobis confessionis vestræ gloriosam coronam. *Epist. 58.*

§ 2. p. 163.

|| In mentem habeatis in Orationibus vestris, & eis vicem boni operis in Sacrificiis & precibus representetis. *Epist. 60.*

§ 4. p. 167.

† Invocatione non contemptibili. *Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. §. 10. p. 238.*

the Elements, was not mean or contemptible, but indifferently well performed. So that it seems evident, that tho' the Method of their Prayers might in the main be the same; yet every one was left to follow his own Fancy and Expression therein.

But that I may hasten to the Conclusion of this Section, it is very unlikely that they were obliged to prescribed Forms, because they never read a Syllable of their Prayers out of any Book whatsoever, which is evident from their Posture of Prayer, which was two-fold, Either with their Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, or with their Eyes shut: That they prayed with their Eyes and Hands lifted up to Heaven, has been already shewn in the Third Section of this Chapter, to which I shall only add this

† Expandimus manus & dominica passione modulantes & orantes confitemur Christo. *Tertul. de Orat. p. 659.*

farther Observation, that
† *they stretched out their Hands in the Figure of a Cross.*

That they also prayed with their Eyes shut, is evident from *Origen*, who having explained what is meant by that Injunction of our Saviour in *Matth. 6. 5. And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the Hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the Synagogues, and in the Corners of the Streets, that they may be seen of Men; verily, I say unto you, they have their Rewards, thus explains the following Verse; But thou, when thou prayest, enter thou into thy Closet, and when thou hast shut to thy Door, pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret,*

secret, shall reward thee openly. † But he that is no Hypocrite, enters into the Closet of his Heart, to the Riches that are treasured up there, and shutting himself in amongst those Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, and not fixing his Eyes on external Objects, as looking after any thing without, and closing every Gate of the Senses, lest he should be drawn aside by them, and their Species or Fancies should creep into his Mind, he prays the Father, who never flies from, or leaves

such an one, but together with the Son dwells in him. So the same Father writes, that a true Christian prays in every place, * closing the Eyes of his Senses, but erecting those of his Mind. Now let them have prayed in either of these Postures, and it is very evident that they could read in neither of them; for it is very improbable that they could turn over the Leaves of a Book, whilst their Hands were extended towards Heaven in the Form of a Cross; or that they could read in a Book, whilst their Eyes were lifted up, or else quite shut and closed.

† Ὁ δὲ μὴ ὑποκριτὸς εἰσερχεται εἰς τὸ εἰναι αὐτὸν ταμειον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐναπολειψασαυρισμῶν πλεῖται, ἢ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως θησαυρον εἰναι αὐτῶν ἀποκλείσας, καὶ μηδ' αὐτῶν ἔξω βλέπων, μὴ δὲ εἰς τὰ ἔξω κενεῖται, πασαν τε τὴν δύραν τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ἀποκλείσας, ἵνα μὴ ἔλθῃ αὐτῶν αἰσθητικῶν μὴ δὲ κενεῖται ἢ φαλασσία τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεισεκλήσῃ, πρὸς δ' ἀκλήσῃ τὰ τί τοιῦτον κρυπτόν μὴ φάροντι, μὴ δὲ ἐκκαλαίπονη παρῆ, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῶν καλοικεῖν συμπαρόντων αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς μονογενῆς. De Orat. §. 9. P. 62, 63.

* Μύσας τῆς αἰσθητικῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ ἐγείρας τῆς τῆς ψυχῆς. Contra Celsum, lib. 7. p. 362.

If therefore there had been prescribed and imposed Forms, they must of necessity have remembered them, which would have been an intolerable Load to the strongest Memory, especially to have repeated Word after Word the Prayers of their Fast Days, which must have been several Hours long, since some of their Fasts, as will be shewn in another place, were prolonged from the Morning of one Day, to the beginning of another.

§. 8. There remains now but one Question more with respect to their Publick Prayers, and that is, Whether they were divided into several Collects? To which I have not much certain to Answer; probably on their Assemblies on Fast-Days when they continued together treble the usual time, for the Ease of the Bishop and his Assistants, they made several distinct Prayers, and probably at their Ordinary Meetings, their Prayer after Sermon was but one entire Piece. But all this is but Conjecture, all that I find positive, is touching their Prayer, that preceded the Consecration of the Eucharistical Elements, which, as *Justin Martyr* writes, † *was one long Prayer, to which the People said, Amen.* † Ευχαριστιαν ὑπὲρ τῆς κατεσκευασμένης τῆτων παρ' αὐτῶ ἐπιπολύ ποιήσαι, εἰ συνέλεισαν ἅ τας εὐχὰς ἢ ἡ εὐχαριστιαν ὡς ὁ παρῶν λαὸς ἐπέφημει, λέγων Ἀμὴν. Apolog. 2. p. 97.

C H A P. III.

- §. 1. *Of Baptism: The Persons Baptizing.*
 §. 2. *The Persons Baptized: First, Infants.*
 §. 3. *Next, Adult Persons. The Qualifications that were required in them.* §. 4. *The manner of Baptism: The Person to be Baptized abjured the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, and gave his Assent to the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith.* §. 5. *A Digression concerning the Antient Creed. The Creed commonly called the Apostles, not known within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ. In those Days they had other brief Summaries of Faith, agreeing in Sense, but not in Words.* §. 6. *All the ancient Creeds transcribed in their Original Language.* §. 7. *The Creed, commonly call'd the Apostles, compared with the Ancient Creeds.* §. 8. *How the Creed was composed.*

§. 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter discoursed of their Publick Prayers, I proceed in the next place to consider the Two Sacraments, *viz. Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.* And first of all, to treat of that of Baptism, together with its Appendix and Confirmation; for the more methodical and distinct handling whereof, I shall inquire into these three Things, *viz. The Persons Baptizing, the Persons Baptized, and the manner of Baptism.*

First,

First, As to the Persons Baptizing, usually they were the Bishops or Pastors of their Respective Parishes, as *Justin Martyr* describes Baptism as performed by the *Presbys*, or

* *Apolog.* 2. p. 97.

† *De Coron. Milit.* p.

336.

|| *Summus Sacerdos qui est Episcopus. De Baptism.* p. 602.

* *Dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate— Laicis etiam jus est— sufficiat in necessitatibus. Ibidem,* p. 602, 603.

† *Mulier non tingendi jus sibi pariet. Ibid.* p. 603.

either Infants, or Adult Persons That Infants were baptized, will be evident from this single Consideration. Baptism was always precedent to the Lord's Supper; and none were admitted to receive the Eucharist, till they were baptized. This is so obvious to every Man, that it needs no proof: If any one doubts it, he may find it clearly asserted in the Second Apology of *Justin Martyr*, p. 97. Children received the Eucharist in the Primitive Church, which is also a thing so well known,

* *Diaconus reluctanti licet de Sacramento Calicis infudit. De Lap- sis,* §. 20. p. 284.

* *President*; and *Tertulian* by the *Antistes*, or † *Superintendent*; and || by the *High Priest*, who is the *Bishop*; but * *with his Permission and Consent*, it was allowed to *Presbyters and Deacons*; and in case of *Necessity*, even to *Laymen to Baptize*; but † *never under any Necessity whatsoever was it permitted to a Woman so to do.*

§. 2. As for the Persons that were Baptized, they were two sorts, either

Infants, or Adult Persons That Infants were baptized, will be evident from this single Consideration. Baptism was always precedent to the Lord's Supper; and none were admitted to receive the Eucharist, till they were baptized. This is so obvious to every Man, that it needs no proof: If any one doubts it, he may find it clearly asserted in the Second Apology of *Justin Martyr*, p. 97. Children received the Eucharist in the Primitive Church, which is also a thing so well known, as that for the proof of it I shall only urge one passage of * *Cyprian's*, where he tells a long Story of a *Sucking Girl*, who so violently

lently refused to taste the Sacramental Wine, that the Deacon was obliged forcibly to open her Lips, and to pour down the Consecrated Wine. Therefore it naturally follows, that Children were baptized; for if they received that Ordinance, which always succeeded Baptism, then of necessity they must have received Baptism its self. But I needed not to have mention'd this Consideration, since Infant-Baptism is as clearly asserted in Words at length in the Primitive Writings, as a thing can possibly be. Thus Origen

writes, that * Children are baptized for the Remission of their Sins, for the purging away of their natural Filth, and original Impurity which is inherent in them, according to Job 15. 14. What is Man that he should be clean? And he which is born of a Woman, that he should be Righteous? And that of the Prophet Isaiah, chap. 4. v. 4. When the Lord shall have washed away the Filth of the Daughter of Sion, and shall have purged

the Blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof. No one is clean from the Filth; no, though he lived but one Day upon the Earth. Wherefore because through the Sacrament of Baptism, the Uncleanesses of our Birth are purged away, therefore Children are baptized. And the same Father Commenting on that place of our Saviour,

Matth.

* Parvuli baptizantur in Remissionem peccatorum; Quorum peccatorum? Vel quo tempore peccaverunt? Aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta illum sensum de quo paulo ante diximus, nullus mundus à sorde, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram? Et quia per Baptismi Sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur & parvuli. In Lucam. Homil. 14.

46 The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.

Matth. 18. 10. See that ye despise not one of these little ones, alledges this as one Reason, why we should not do so, because of the Angels that guard them, on which Reason he makes this

* Πότε τῶν δαικνυμένων τῶν ἰπὶ σωτήριου μικρῶν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῶν ἄγγελοι ἐσθίσαντες, πότερον δεξάμενοι ἢ οἰκονομίαν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς διοικεῖν ἀφ' ἑξῆς αὐτῆς παλιγγενεσίας— ἢ ἀπὸ γενέσεως; Comment. in Mat. Tom. 13. p. 331. Vol. 1.

Query, * *At what time the Angels begin their Guardianship over those little ones, whether at the time of their Birth or their Baptism?* So that little ones were Baptized; by which little ones he means Infants and Children, as is most evident from those other

Titles, which he gives them in the same Tome, as *παῖδια, little Children, νήπια, Infants*; and in one place he supposes them to be

† Μέχρι τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων ἔτων. Ibid. p. 321.

† *under three or four Years old.*

To these Testimonies of *Origen*, I might also add those of *Irenæus*, *Lib. 2. cap. 39. p. 137.* and of *Cyprian*, *De Lapsis, §. 7. p. 279.* But I shall chuse to wave them, because I would willingly translate at length the Determination of an *African Synod*, held *Anno 254*, whereat were present *Threescore and Six Bishops*; the occasion of which Determination was this: A certain Bishop called *Fidus*, had some Scruples, not concerning the Baptism of Infants, but concerning the time of their Baptism, whether they might be baptized before the Second or Third Day after their Birth, or before the Eighth Day, as it was observed with respect to Circumcision under the Mosaical Oeconomy; the

the Reasons or Grounds for which his Scruples he proposed to this Synod, who having seriously examined them, unanimously decreed, That Childrens Baptism was not to be deferr'd so long, but that the Grace of God, or Baptism, should be given to all, and most especially unto Infants, which Synodical Decree, because so pertinent to my purpose, I have at large transcribed as follows:

Quantum vero ad causam Infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem quo nati sint constitutos baptizari non oportere; & considerandam esse legem Circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum qui natus est baptizandum & sanctificandum non putares; longe aliud in consilio nostro omnibus visum est; in hoc enim quod tu putabas esse faciendum, nemo consensit, sed universi potius judicavimus, nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei & gratiam denegandam; nam cum Dominus in Evangelio suo dicat, Filius hominis non venit animas hominum perdere, sed

As for the matter of Infants, whom, you said, were not to be Baptized within the Second or Third Day after their Nativity, or according to the Law of Circumcision within the eighth Day thereof; it hath appeared to us in our Council quite contrary; no one maintained your Opinion, but we all judged, That the Mercy and Grace of God was to be denied to no Man; for since the Lord said in the Gospel, The Son of Man came not to destroy, but to save the Souls of Men; therefore as much as lies in our Power, no Soul is

salvare ; quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla anima perdenda est. Quid enim ei deest, qui semel in utero Dei manibus formatus est ? Nobis enim atque oculis nostris, secundum dierum secularium cursum, accipere qui nati sunt incrementum videntur : Cæterum quæcunque a Deo fiunt, Dei factoris majestate & opere perfecta sunt. Esse denique apud omnes, sive infantes, sive majores natu, unam divini muneris æqualitatem, declarat nobis divinæ Scripturæ fides, cum Helisæus super Infantem Sunamitis Viduæ Filium qui mortuus jacebat, ita se Deum deprecans superstravit, ut capiti caput, & faciei facies applicaretur, & superfusi Helisæi membra singulis parvuli membris & pedes pedibus jungerentur. Quæ res si secundum nativitatis nostræ & Corporis qualitatem cogitetur, adulto & provecto Infans non pos-

to be lost ; for what is there defective in him, who has been once formed in the Womb by the Hands of God ? To us indeed it seems, that Children increase as they advance in Years ; but yet whatever things are made by God, are perfected by the Work and Majesty of God their Maker. Besides, the Holy Scriptures declare, that both Infants and Adult Persons have the same Equality in the Divine Workmanship : When Elisha prayed over the Dead Child of the Sunamitish Widow, he lay upon the Child, and put his Head upon his Head, and his Face upon his Face, and his Body upon his Body, and his Feet upon his Feet. This may be thought improbable, how the small Members of an Infant should equal the big ones of a grown Man ;
but

set æquari, nec coherere & sufficere possent parva membra majoribus. Sed illic æqualitas divina & spiritualis exprimitur, quod pares atque æquales sint omnes homines, quando à Deo semel facti sint, & possit ætas nostra in incrementis corporum secundum sæculum, non secundum Deum habere discrimen; nisi si & gratia ipsa, quæ baptizatis datur, pro ætate accipientium vel minor, vel major tribuitur; cum Spiritus sanctus non de mensura, sed de pietate atque indulgentia paterna æqualis omnibus præbeatur. Nam Deus ut personam non accipit, sic ne ætatem, cum se omnibus ad cœlestis gratiæ consecutionem æqualitate librata præbeat patrem.

but herein is expressed the Divine and Spiritual Equality, that all Men are equal, and alike, when they are made by God; that though the encrease of our Bodies may cause an inequality with respect to Men, yet not with respect to God; unless that that Grace, which is given to baptized Persons, be more or less according to the Age of the Receivers; but the Holy Ghost is given equally to all, not according to measure, but according to God's Mercy and Indulgence; for as God is no respecter of Persons, so neither of Years; he equally offers to all, the obtaining of his Heavenly Grace.

Nam & quod vestigium infantis, in primis partus sui diebus constituti, mundum non esse dixisti, quod unusquisque nostrum adhuc horreat

And whereas you say that an Infant for the first Days after his Birth is unclean, so that every one is afraid to kiss him, this

exosculari, nec hoc putamus ad cœlestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere; scriptum est enim, omnia munda sunt mundis; nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans a partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum in gratia danda atque in pace facienda horrere debeat osculari, quando in osculo infantis unusquisque nostrum pro sua religione ipsas adhuc recentes Dei manus debeat cogitare, quas in homine modo formato & recens nato quodammodo exosculamur, quando id quod Deus fecit, amplectimur. Nam quod in Judaica Circumcisione carnali octavus dies observabatur, Sacramentum est in umbra atque in imagine ante præmis-

*can be no Impediment to his Obtainment of Heavenly Grace; for it is written, to the Pure all things are pure; and none of us should dread that which God hath made; for although an Infant be newly born, yet he is not so, as that we should dread to kiss him; since in the kissing of an Infant, we ought to think upon the fresh Works of God, which in a manner we * kiss in an Infant newly formed and born, when we embrace that which God hath made. And whereas the carnal Jewish Circumcision was performed on the Eighth Day, that was a Type and Shadow of some future good thing, which, Christ the Truth being now*

* This they speak with reference to their Custom of Saluting one another at the Conclusion of their publick Assemblies.

sum, sed veniente Christo veritate completum. Nam quia octavus dies, id est, post Sabbatum primus dies futurus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret, & nos vivificaret & Circumcisionem nobis spiritualem daret, hic dies octavus, id est, post Sabbatum primus, & Dominicus præcessit in imagine, quæ imago cessavit superveniente postmodum veritate, & data nobis spirituali circumcissione. Propter quod neminem putamus a gratia consequenda impediendum esse ea lege quæ jam statuta est; nec spiritualem circumcissione impediri carnali circumcissione debere sed omnem omnino hominem admittendum esse ad gratiam Christi, quando & Petrus in Actibus Apostolorum loquatur, & dicat, Dominus mihi dixit, neminem communem dicendum & immundum.

come, is done away; because the Eighth Day, or the First Day after the Sabbath, was to be the Day on which our Lord should rise and quicken us, and give us the Spiritual Circumcision; therefore was the Carnal Circumcision on the Eighth Day, which Type is now abolished, Christ the Truth being come, and having given us the Spiritual Circumcision. Wherefore it is our Judgment, that no one ought to be debarred from God's Grace by that Law, or that the Spiritual Circumcision should be hindered by the carnal one; but all Men ought to be admitted to the Grace of Christ; as Peter saith in the Acts of the Apostles; that the Lord said unto him, that he should call no Man common or unclean.

Caterum si homines impedire aliquid ad consecutionem gratiæ posset; magis adultos & provectos & majores natu possent impedire peccata graviora. Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus & in Deum multum ante peccantibus, cum postea crediderint, remissa peccatorum datur, & à baptismo atque à gratia nemo prohibetur; quanto magis prohiberi non debet Infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquæ prima natiuitate contraxit? Qui ad remissionem peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria, sed aliena peccata & idcirco, frater charissime, hæc fuit in concilio nostra sententia, à baptismo atque à gratia Dei, qui omnibus misericors & benignus, & pius est, neminem per nos debere prohiberi. Quod cum

But if any thing can hinder Men from Baptism, it will be heinous Sins, that will debar the Adult and Mature therefrom; and if those who have sinned extremely against God, yet if afterwards they believe, are baptized, and no Man is prohibited from this Grace, how much more ought not an Infant to be prohibited, who being but just born, is guilty of no Sin, but of Original, which he contracted from Adam? Who ought the more readily to be received to the remission of Sins, because not his own, but others sins are remitted to him. Wherefore, dearly beloved, it is our Opinion, that from Baptism, and the Grace of God, who is merciful, kind and benign to all, none ought to be prohibited by us, which as it is to be observed and followed with

circa universos observandum sit atque retinendum, tum magis circa infantes ipsos & recens natos observandum putamus, qui hoc ipso de ope nostra, ac de divina misericordia plus merentur, quod in primo statim natiuitatis suæ ortu plorantes ac flentes nihil aliud faciunt quam deprecantur. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 59. §. 2, 3, 4. p. 164, 165.*

with respect to all; so especially with respect to Infants, and those that are but just born, who deserve our Help, and the Divine Mercy, because at the first instant of their Natiuity, they beg it by their Cries and Tears.

So that here is as Formal a Synodical Decree for the Baptism of Infants as possibly can be expected; which being the Judgment of a Synod, is more authentick and cogent than that of a private Father, it being supposable, that a private Father might write his own particular Judgment and Opinion, but the Determinations of a Synod or Council, denote the common Practice and Usage of the Whole Church.

§. 3. It is evident then, that Infants were baptised in the Primitive Ages; and as for the Baptism of the Adult, that being own'd by all, it will be needless to prove it. These were Persons grown in Years, able to judge and chuse for themselves, who relinquish'd Paganism, and came over to the Christian Faith. What Qualifications were required in them previous or antecedent to Baptism I need not here relate, since I have already handled this Point in the Sixth Chapter of the former Treatise, to which I refer the Reader. In short, such

as these were first instructed in the Christian Faith, continued some time in the Rank of the

* Ὅσοι ἀν σπειθῶσι ἢ πι-
σθῶσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ
ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα ἢ
λεγόμενα εἶναι, ἢ βίην
ἐ'ως δύναδ' ὑπὸ χυλῶν—
ἐπειτα ἄγοι' ὑφ' ἡμῶν
ἐνδα ὑδαρ ἕσι, &c. Just.
Mart. Apol. 2. p. 93.

Catechumens, till * they had given good Proofs of their Resolutions to lead a pious, religious Life, and had protested their Assent and Consent to all the Christian Verities, and then they were solemnly baptized. Which

brings me to the third thing proposed, viz. The manner of Baptism, which for the main was, as follows.

§. 4. The Person to be baptized was first asked several Questions by the Bishop, or by him that Officiated, unto which he was to give his Answer, concerning which Baptismal Questions and Answers *Dionysius Alexandrinus* speaks in his Letter to *Xystus* Bishop of Rome, wherein he writes of a certain scrupulous Person in his Church, who was exceedingly troubled, when he was present at Baptism, and

† Καὶ τῶν ἐπιρωλήσεων ἢ
δοκίμησης ἐπαχέσας. A-
pud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 9.
p. 254.

† heard the Questions and Answers of those that were Baptized. Which Que-

* Usitata & legitima
verba interrogationis. A-
pud Cyprian. Epist. 75.
§. 10. p. 238.

stions *Firmilian* styles, * the lawful and usual Interrogatories of Baptism.

Now these Questions and Answers were two-fold: First, Of Abjuration of the Devil and all his Works: And, Secondly, Of a Firm Assent to the Articles of the Christian Faith, First, Of Abjuration. The Mini-

ster

fter proposed this Question to the Party baptized, or to this Effect, *Do you renounce the Devil, the World, and the Flesh?* To which he answered *Yes*. So writes Tertullian, † *When we are baptized, we renounce the World, the Devil, and his Angels.* And † *with our Mouth we have vowed to renounce the World, the Devil and his Angels.* And || *We have renounced the Devil and his Angels.* And * *thou hast covenanted to renounce the World, the Devil, and his Angels.* And, † *We were called to the Warfare of the Living God, when we promised in the Words of Baptism.* To the same Effect also says Cyprian, || *When we were baptized, we renounced the World.* And * *We have renounced the World, its Poms and Delights.* And † *The Servant of God has renounced the Devil and the World.* And, || *We have renounced the World, and by the Faith of Spiritual Grace have cast off its Riches*

lis abjecimus. *De Orat. Dom.*

† Contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. *De Coronâ Militis*, p. 336.

† Renunciâsse nos Diabolo & Angelis ejus ore nostro contestamur. *De Spectac.* p. 583.

|| Renunciavimus Diabolo, & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. *De Idololat.* p. 618.

* Pactus es renunciare Diabolo, & Pompæ & Angelis ejus. *Lib. de Anima*, c. 17. p. 554.

† Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei vivi, jam tunc cum in Sacramenti verba spondimus. *Ad Martyr.* p. 367.

|| Sæculo renunciavimus cum baptizati sumus. *Epist. 7. §. 5.* p. 20.

* Mundi pompis & deliciis jam tunc renunciavimus. *De Hab. Virg.* §. 6. p. 267.

† Dei servus — Diabolo jam renunciârat & Sæculo. *De Lapsis*, §. 6. p. 279.

|| Sæculo renunciavimus, & Divitias ejus & Pompas fide gratiæ spirituales. §. 14. p. 213.

56 *The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.*

* Diabolo & Mundo renunciamus. *De Bono Patientia*, §. 7. p. 365.

† Ἀπολασόμεθα ἡμῶν τῶν πονηρῶν ἀρχαῖς. *Theod. Epist.* p. 573.

and Poms. And, * *We have renounced the Devil and the World.* And so likewise saith *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that in Baptism † *we renounced the Devil.*

The Second Question was, Whether the Party to be Baptized, did believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith, to which he answered, Yes, as *Justin Martyr* writes, * *that those who were to be baptized, were to give their Assent to the things that were taught and held by them.* So *Cyprian* writes, that at Baptized Person's Assent, to this Creed, † *Whether he believed in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, remission of Sins, and eternal Life through the Church?* And that at Baptism they asked, * *Dost thou believe the Life everlasting, and remission of Sins through the Holy Church?* These Articles of Faith to which

† Symbolo baptizare nosse Deum Patrem, Filium Christum, Spiritum sanctum, credis remissionem peccatorum, & vitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam? *Epist.* 76. §. 6. p. 248.

* Credis in vitam æternam, & remissionem peccatorum per sanctam Ecclesiam? *Epist.* 70. §. 2. p. 211.

the baptized Persons

† Symboli legem. *Epist.* 76. §. 6. p. 248.

* Regula veritatis. *De Trinitate inter Opera Tertul.* p. 493.

gave their Assent, are called by *Cyprian*, † *The Law of the Symbol.* And by *Novatian*, * *The Rule of Truth.*

§. 5. And here since we have mentioned the Symbol, it will be no unuseful Digression to enquire a little into the Antient Creeds ; for as for that Creed which is commonly called the Apostles, all Learned Persons are now agreed, that it was never composed by them, neither do I find it within my prescribed Time : But though they had not that, yet they had other Creeds very like thereunto, which contained the fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, unto which all Christians gave their Assent and Consent, and that publickly at Baptism ; whence, as before, it is called by *Cyprian, The Law of the Symbol* ; and by *Novatian, The Rule of Truth*.

This Creed was handed down from Father to Son, as a brief Summary of the necessary Scripture Truths, not *in ipsissimis verbis*, or in the same set Words, but only the Sense or Substance thereof, which is evident, from that we never find the Creed twice repeated in the same Words, no, not by one and the same Father ; which that it may the more manifestly appear, as also that we may see the Congruity and Affinity of the Antient Creeds with our Present Creed, commonly call'd the Apostles, I shall transcribe in their Original Language all the whole Creeds, and Pieces of Creeds, that I find within my limited Bounds, which, together with the Authors wherein they are to be found, are as follows.

§. 6. Κοφώθηκε ἔν ὄταν ὑμῖν χωρεῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καλῆ τις τῆ ἐκ γενεῶς Δαβὶδ, τῆ ἐκ Μαρίας ὅς ἀλιθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγεν ἢ καὶ ἔπιεν, ἀλιθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ Πονίᾳ Πιλάτῃ, ἀλιθῶς ἐσαυρώθη, καὶ ἀπέθανεν βλεπόντων τῶν ἐπερευθίων, ἐπιγείων, καὶ ὑποχθονίων, ὅς καὶ ἀλιθῶς ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἐγένεθη αὐτὸν τῆ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὁμοίωμα, ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν πειρασθῆναι αὐτῷ ἕτως ἐγενεῖ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Ignat. Epist. ad Tralles. p. 52.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία καὶ πᾶν καθ' ὅλης τῆ οἰκουμένης ἕως πρώτων τῆ γῆς διεσπαρμένη, ὡς καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν ὡραλαβεῖσα τὴν, εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸ πεποικνῶτα τὸ ἔρανον καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πῶσιν, καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸ υἱὸν τῆ Θεοῦ τὸ σαρκωθέντα ὑπὸ τῆ ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας, καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν κεκυρυχθῆναι, τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰς ἐλάσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένης γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τὰς ἔρανας ἀνάληψιν τῆ ἡγαπιμῆτος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἔρανων ἐν τῇ δοξῇ τῆ πατρὸς παρθεσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσαθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πᾶσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ πατρὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ σωτήρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τῆ πατρὸς τῆ ἀρετῆ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπερευθίων, καὶ ἐπιγείων, καὶ κατὰχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἑξομολογήσῃαι αὐτῷ, καὶ κέσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃ, τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆ πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγέρας τὴν ὡραλαβεθικότητας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασία γεγονότας, καὶ τὴν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰῶνον πῦρ πέμψῃ, τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐνδοξὰς αὐτῆ τεινεθήκοσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτῆ ἀγαμεθνήκοσι, τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζῶν χαριζάμεθαι ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσῃ, καὶ δόξαν αἰῶνον ἐπιποιήσῃ. Irenæus, lib. 1. c. 2. p. 35, 36.

Credo in unum Deum fabricatorem Cœli ac Terræ, & omnium quæ in eis sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium, qui propter eminentissimam erga Figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quæ esset ex Virgine, generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, & passus sub Pontio Pilato, & resurgens, & in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus Salvator eorum qui salvantur, & Judex eorum qui judicantur, & mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis, & contemptores patris sui & adventus ejus. *Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 4. pag. 172.*

Regula est autem Fidei, ut jam hinc quid credamus, profiteatur, illa scilicet, qua creditur unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi creatorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit per verbum suum, primo omnium amissum : id verbum Filium ejus appellatum in nomine Dei, varie visum Patriarchis, in Prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex spiritu patris Dei & virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, & ex ea natum, egisse Jesum Christum, exinde prædicasse novam legem & novam promissionem Regni Cœlorum, virtutes fecisse, fixum cruci tertia die surrexisse, in cœlos ereptum, sedere ad dexteram patris, misisse vicariam vim Spiritus sancti, qui credentes agant, venturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ, & promissorum cœlestium fructum, & ad Prophanos judicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione.

Hæc

Hæc regula à Christo— instituta nullas habet apud nos quæstiones, nisi quas Hæreses inferunt, & quæ Hæreticos faciunt. *Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 73.*

Unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione quam *ὁικονομίαν* dicimus, ut unici Dei sit & Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, & sine quo factum est nihil, hunc missum à patre in Virginem, & ex ea natum hominem & Deum, filium hominis & filium Dei, & cognominatum Jesum Christum, hunc passum, hunc mortuum & sepultum secundum scripturas, & resuscitatum à Patre, & in cælo resumptum, sedere ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos, qui exinde miserat secundum promissionem suam à patre Spiritum sanctum paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum sanctum. Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisse, &c. *Tertul. advers. Praxean. p. 316.*

Regula Fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis & irreformabilis credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem. mundi conditorem, & filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertio die resuscitatum à mortuis, receptum in cælis. sedentem nunc ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos, per carnis etiam resurrectionem: *Tertullian. de Virginib. veland. p. 385.*

Πισεύσον ὅτι εἷς ὄντιν ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας, ἢ καρπίσας, ἢ ποιήσας ἐκ τῆ μη ὄντιν εἷς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα κρὴ ἢ ἢ πισδεῖν ὅτι Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἢ πάση τῇ πρεῖ αὐτῆ κτ' ἢ θεόηλια ἢ τὴν ἀνδρωπότηλια ἀληθεία· δεῖ ἢ εἷς τὸ ἀγιον πνεῦμα πισδεῖν, ἢ ὅτι αὐτεξέστοι οἷες κολαζόμεθα μὴ ἐφ' οἷς ἀμαρτάνομε, τιμώμεθα ἢ ἐφ' οἷς εὐπρέπτομε. Origen. Comment. in Johan. Tom. 32. p. 397. Vol. 2.

Unus Deus est, qui omnia creavit, atque composuit, quique ex nullis fecit esse universa, Deus à prima creatura & conditione mundi omnium justorum, Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, &c. Et quod hic Deus in novissimis diebus, sicut per Prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, primo quidem vocaturum Israel, secundo vero etiam gentes post perfidiam populi Israel. Hic Deus justus & bonus pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, Legem & Prophetas & Evangelia ipse dedit, qui & Apostolorum Deus est, & veteris & novi Testamenti: Tum deinde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex patre est: Qui cum in omnium conditione patri ministrasset (per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt) novissimis temporibus seipsum exinaniens homo factus est, incarnatus est cum Deus esset, & homo mansit quod Deus erat. Corpus assumpsit corpori nostro simile, eo solo differens, quod natum ex Virgine & Spiritu sancto est, & quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus & passus est in veritate, & non per imaginem, communem hanc mortem vere mortuus est; vere enim à morte

morte resurrexit, & post resurrectionem conversatus cum Discipulis suis assumptus est.

Tum deinde honore ac dignitate Patri ac Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum sanctum, in hoc non jam manifeste discernitur, utrum natus aut innatus. Sed inquirenda jam ista pro viribus sunt de Sacra Scriptura, & sagaci perquisitione investiganda, sane quod iste Spiritus sanctus unumquemque Sanctorum vel Prophetarum, vel Apostolorum inspiravit, & non alius Spiritus in veteribus, alius vero in his, qui in adventu Christi inspirati sunt, manifestissime in Ecclesiis prædicatur. Post hæc jam, quod anima substantiam, vitamque habens propriam, cum ex hoc mundo decesserit, & pro suis meritis dispensabit, sive vitæ æternæ ac beatitudinis hæreditate potitura, si hoc ei sua gesta præstiterint; sive igne æterno ac suppliciis mancipanda, si in hoc eam scelerum culpa detorserit. Sed & quia erit tempus resurrectionis mortuorum, cum corpus hoc quod in corruptione seminatur, surget in incorruptione, & quod seminatur in ignominia, surget in gloria. *Origen. in Proæm. Lib. πρὸ ἀρχῶν.*

Credis in Deum Patrem, Filium Christum, Spiritum Sanctum, remissionem peccatorum, & Vitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam? *Cyprian. Epist. 76. §. 6. p. 248.*

Ἐἰς Θεὸς πατὴρ λόγος ζωῆς, σοφίας ὑψεσῶσης, καὶ
δυναμείας, καὶ χαρᾶς αἰδίου, τέλει τελεῖ γενήτωρ,
πατὴρ ἡμῶν μονογενῆς, εἰς κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ
Θεῶν, χαρᾶς καὶ εἰκῶν τῆς θεότητος, λόγος, ἐνεργὸς, σο-
φία

φία τῶν ὅλων συστάσεως θεολογική, καὶ δύναμις, καὶ τῶν ὅλων
κρίσεως ποιητική, υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς ἀληθινῆ πατρὸς, ἀόρατος
ἀόρατος, καὶ ἀφθαρτος ἀφθάρτε, καὶ ἀθάνατος ἀθανάτε, καὶ
αἰδιότος αἰδίε, καὶ ἐν πνεύμα ἁγίον, ἐκ Θεῶ τῶ ὑπαρξίν
ἔχων, καὶ δι' υἱῶ πεφωλὸς, διηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰκὼν τῆ
υἱῶ, τελεία τελεία ζώη, ζώων αἰτία, πηγὴ ἀγία, ἀγίοις
ἀγιασμέ χορηγὸς, ἐν ᾧ φανερεῖται Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐπὶ πάν-
των καὶ ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ Θεὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀπὸ πάντων, τριάς τελεία,
δόξη καὶ αἰδιότητι καὶ βασιλεία μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀπαμο-
τριεμένη. Gregor. Neocæsar.

§. 7. These are all the Creeds that I have met with, in which the Words are various, but generally recurring to the same Sense: It would be too tedious to translate them all; wherefore I shall sum them up in the Creed, commonly called the Apostles, and thereby shew their Congruity and Agreement, as also, what is in the Apostles Creed more than in these. Now the Articles of the Apostles Creed, that are to be found in the forementioned Creeds, are as follow :

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried—The third Day he rose again from the Dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church—the Forgiveness of Sins,

Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting.

Here are now two Clauses of our present Creed wanting, *viz. He descended into Hell,* and, *The Communion of Saints.*

§. 8. If we would know how they were added, we must first consider how the whole Creed was framed, which I conceive was done these two ways.

First some of the Articles were derived down from the very Days of the Apostles.

Secondly, Others were afterwards added in opposition to Heresies, as they sprung up in the Church.

First some of the Articles were derived down from the very Days of the Apostles, such were these, *I believe in God the Father,* (or as the Greek Creeds read it, *in one God, the Father,* in opposition to the Polytheism of the Heathens) *and in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord : I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting.* For in the Days of the Apostles, as well as afterwards, it was the Practice at Baptism, to demand the baptized Person's assent to the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, as *Philip* did the Eunuch; *Acts* 8. 37. amongst which Fundamentals we may be certain they reckoned the Doctrine of the Trinity,

ty, because they were baptized in the Name, and Dedicated to the Service of the Trinity; and that of the Unity of the Godhead, because it was the great drift and design of their Preaching to overturn the Pagans multiplicity of Deities; and that of the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting, because that was the Characteristick or Peculiar Doctrine of the Christian Religion, by which it was eminently distinguished from other Sects and Opinions, and was the only Comfort and Support of the Christians under their Sufferings and Martyrdoms, according to that of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 15. 29. *If the Dead rise not at all, why are they then baptized for the Dead?*

As for the other Articles of the Creed, viz. Such as are predicated of Christ, as, *His being conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, &c.* and those other two, *the Holy Catholick Church, and, The Forgiveness of Sins, I* conceive them to be introduced the second way, viz. in opposition to Heresies, as they sprung up in the Church, as, *was conceived by the Holy Ghost, in opposition to the Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Cerinthians, who taught that Christ was born in the ordinary and common way as other Men and Women are: Was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, &c.* in contradiction to the *Docetæ, Simonians,* and others, who affirmed Christ to be a Man, not really, but only Phantastically, or in appearance; of which Hereticks Ignatius * speaks, and against them his fore-mentioned Creed seems

* Ἀπιστοί τινες λέγουσι τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονηθῆναι.
Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 2.

particularly to be levelled, *The Remission of Sins*, against the *Basilidians*, who held that not all Sins, but only involuntary ones would be remitted; or rather against the *Novatians*, who denied remission to the Lapsed: *The Holy Catholick Church*, to exclude thereby all Hereticks and Schismaticks from being within the Pale thereof.

By these two ways then was the Creed composed, and by the latter hereof were those two Articles introduced, of Christ's Descent into Hell, and of the Communion of Saints. The Communion of Saints was brought in last of all. The Descent into Hell towards the latter end of the Fourth Century, into the manner and occasion whereof, as also the intent and meaning of this Article, I had design'd once to enquire, having made some Collections concerning it; but finding I should be then forc'd to pass the Limits of my prescribed time, I have thought it expedient to omit it, and to return to those Points, from whence I have so long digressed.

CHAP. IV.

- §. 1. Of Godfathers. §. 2. Exorcism preceded Baptism: The Form and Reason thereof. §. 3. Next came Baptism its self: The Sacramental Water consecrated by Prayer. §. 4. The Person Baptized in the Name of the Trinity. §. 5. Immersion, or dipping generally used. §. 6. Sometimes Perfusion, or Sprinkling. The Validity thereof considered. §. 7. After Baptism followed Prayers.

§. 1. **H**AVING in the former Chapter made a little Digression, I now return to the matter that first occasioned it, which was, the Questions proposed to the Persons to be Baptized, unto which Adult Persons answered for themselves, and *Susceptors*, or *Godfathers* for Children. Of these *Susceptors*, or *Sponsors*, *Tertullian* speaks, where he thus adviseth the delay of Childrens Baptism,

* *What necessity is there that Sponsors should expose themselves to danger, who through Death may fail of the Performance of their Promises, or may be deceived by the wicked Disposition of those they promise for? Whether the use of Sponsors was from the Apostles Days, I cannot determine, unless the Negative*

* *Quid enim necesse est sponsores etiam periculo ingeri, qui & ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, & proventu male indolis falli? De Baptism. p. 603.*

tive may be conjectured from *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian's* Senior by Fifty Years, who, when he enumerates the Method and Form of Baptism, says not one Word of Sponsors or God-fathers, as may be seen in his Second Apology, *Pag.* 93, 94.

§. 2. When these Questions and Answers were ended, then followed Exorcization, the manner and end whereof was this: The Minister put his Hands on the Persons Head that was to be Baptized, and breathed in his Face, implying thereby the Exorcization, or expelling of the Devil or Evil Spirit from him, and a preparing of him for Baptism and Confirmation, when and where the good and holy Spirit was conferred and given.

This Practice I find mentioned by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who speaks

* *Theodos. Epitom.* p. 573. of the * τὸ Ἐξοριζόμενον, or Exorcism before Baptism, but more fully by

some of those Bishops that were present at that famous Council of *Carthage*, held *Anno* 258. in whose Determinations, Exorcization is required as previous and antecedent to Baptism. Thus in that of *Crescens* Bishop of *Cir-*

† *Censeo omnes Hæreticos & Schismaticos, qui ad Catholicam Ecclesiam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi exorcizati & baptizati prius fuerint.* *Apud. Cyprian.* p. 445.

ta, † I judge, saith he, that all Hereticks and Schismaticks, who would come to the Catholick Church, are not to be ad-

mitted,

mitted, till they have been first Exorcised and Baptized. So also said, *Lucius* Bishop of Thebeste, * It is my Opinion that all Hereticks are to be exorcised and baptized. And thus more clearly *Vincentius* Bishop of *Thibaris*, † We know Hereticks to be worse than Heathens. If therefore they would turn and come to the Lord, we have a Rule of Truth, which the Lord commanded the Apostles, saying; Go, in my Name, lay on Hands, and cast out Devils, (Mark 16. 17.) And in another place, Go, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, (Matthew 28. 19.) Therefore first let them come by Imposition of Hands in Exorcism, and then by the Regeneration of Baptism, that so they may be made Partakers of Christ's Promises; but otherwise I think they cannot.

From this last Determination we may observe the Reason of these Exorcisms, which arose from a misunderstanding of Christ's Valedictory Speech to his Disciples in *Mark* 16.

* Hæreticos——censeo exorcizandos & baptizandos esse. *Ibid.* p. 447.

† Hæreticos scimus peiores esse quam ethnicos, si ergo conversi ad Dominum venire voluerint, habemus utique regulam veritatis, quam Dominus præcepto divino mandavit Apostolis, dicens: Ite in nomine meo, manum imponite, Dæmonia expellite; & alio loco, ite, docete gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris & Filii, & Spiritus sancti; ergo primo per manus impositionem in exorcismo; secundo per Baptismi regenerationem, tunc possunt ad Christi pollicitationem venire: alius autem fieri censeo non debere. *Ibid.* p. 447.

17, &c. In the 16th Verse of that Chapter he commanded them to go forth preaching the Gospel, and to Baptize, which was to be an unalterable, perpetual Ministration to the end of the World. Then he proceeds to tell them, *v.* 17, 18. that for the speedier propagation of the Gospel, and that the Heathens might the more readily embrace it, he would confer on them, and the first Preachers thereof, the Gift of working Miracles, that in his Name they should cast out Devils, and speak with new Tongues, as they most eminently did at the Day of Pentecost; That they should take up Serpents, as *Paul* did at *Malta* without receiving any Injury; and if they drunk any deadly thing, it should not hurt them; They should lay Hands on the Sick, and they should recover; All which they did, as Ecclesiastical Histories abundantly testify; and *St. Mark* closes this Chapter, and his Gospel, with saying; that when the Apostles went forth and Preached, *the Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the Word with Signs following.* So that these were extraordinary Actions peculiarly promised to the Apostles and first Preachers of the Faith of Christ.

But now it is evident from the forementioned Determination of *Vincentius* Bishop of *Thibaris*, that in his Age, they apprehended them to be like Baptism, ordinary and standing Administrations in the Church, and so mistaking in the Sense of the fore-cited Text, introduced for an ordinary and constant Practice, that which was promised by Christ for an extraordinary

dinary and miraculous Gift: Christ promised his Apostles, the miraculous Power of casting Devils out of Bodies possessed by them: But these Fathers understood this Promise of the common Spiritual Effects of the Gospel, which, where it is believingly received, delivers that Person from the Delusion and Dominion of the Devil, under which we all naturally are, being by Nature Children of Wrath; and for the Declaration of this invisible Freedom and Deliverance, which they all thought to be in or about Baptism, they made use of this external Sign of Exorcism, just before Baptism, to declare thereby, that now the unclean Devil with all his Power and Tyranny was cast out of that Person, who was now going, in and by Baptism, to be consecrated to the Service of a better Master, *viz.* of the Blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, God blessed for evermore.

§. 3. When Exorcization was finished, then came Baptism its self; and the Person being ready to be Baptized, the Minister, by Prayer, consecrated the Water for that use, because it was not any Water, but only * *that Water*, as *Sedatus* Bishop of *Turbo* writes, *which is sanctified in the Church by the Prayers of the Minister, that washeth away Sin.* It is true indeed, as *Tertullian* writes, † *That any Wa-*

* Aqua Sacerdotis prece & Ecclesia sanctificata abluunt delicta. *Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 446.*

† Omnes Aquæ de pristina Originis Prærogatives

tiva Sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur invocato Deo, supervenit enim statim Spiritus de Cœlis & aquis superest sanctificans eas, &c. *De Baptism.* p. 598.

† Oportet ergo mundari & sanctificari aquam prius à Sacerdote ut possit Baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur abluere. *Epist.* 70. §. 2. p. 211.

ters may be applyed to that use, but then God must be first Invocated, and then the Holy Ghost presently comes down from Heaven, moves upon them, and sanctifies them. Wherefore, saith Cyprian, † The Water yet must be first cleansed and sanctified by the Priest, that by its washing it may wash away the Sins of the Man that is Baptized.

§ 4. The Water being Consecrated, the Person was then Baptized in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

* Ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὀλων, καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λελεθὲν ποιεῖν. *Apolog.* 2. p. 94.

† Δια τριῶν ὀνομάτων πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. *Theod. Epitom.* p. 573.

the World and the Flesh, and is now Sealed by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This Baptizing in

* Τῆς θεογονίας τριάδος ἐπιλοιοις, *Comment.* in Johan. Vol. 2. Tom. 2. p. 124.

So writes Justin Martyr, * They are baptized in the Name of God the Father, Lord of all, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. For as Clemens Alexandrinus says, † The baptized Person by this Dedication to the Blessed Trinity, is delivered from the corrupt Trinity, viz. The Devil, the World and the Flesh, and is now Sealed by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This Baptizing in the Name of the Trinity, Origen terms, * The Invocacion of the Adorable Trinity.

§. 5. As for the Quantity of Water employed in Baptism, that is, whether they sprinkled or dipped; to me it seems evident, that their usual Custom was to immerse or dip the whole Body. When St. Barnabas describes a baptized Person by his going down into the Water,

* *We go down, saith he, into the Water full of Sin and Filth, but we ascend with Fruit and Benefit in our Hearts.* And so Tertullian represents baptized Persons, as, † *entred into the Water.* And as || *let down into the Water.* And Justin Martyr describes the same * *by being washed in Water;* and calls the place where they are baptized Δεσθόν, † *a washing-place, or a Bath;* whence Firmilian inveighing against the Baptism of Hereticks, condemns it as carnal, and as being upon that account no whit * *different from the Baptism or washing of the Jews, which they used as a common and ordinary Bath to wash away the Filth of their Bodies.*

* Ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γεμόνες ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύτις, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ. Epist. Cathol. §. 9. p. 235.

† Aquam ingressi. *De Spectaculis*, p. 583.

|| In aquam demissus. *De Baptismo*. p. 597.

* Ἐν τῷ ὕδατι λείθον ποιεῖν. Apolog. 2. p. 94.

† Ibidem ut supra.

* Nihil differt à Judæorum Baptismo, quo sic illi utuntur, & eo tanquam communi & vulgari lavacro tantum sordes laventur. Apud Cyprian. Ep. 75. §. 11. p. 139.

§. 6. But though Immerfion was their usual Custom, yet Perfufion or Sprinkling was not accounted unlawful ; but in cafes of neceffity that was ufed, as in Clinic Baptifm, which was, when fick Perfons, whose Deaths they apprehended, were baptized in their Beds, as *Novatian*,

* Νόσω περιπεσὼν χαλεπῆ, ἢ ἀποθανεῖν ὅσον εἰδέπω νομίζομεν, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ἢ ἐκεῖσε περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν. Epist. Cornel. ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245.

being sick, and near Death, as was supposed, was baptized in his Bed by Perfusion, or, Pouring on of Water.

It is true indeed, this Baptifm was not generally esteemed as perfect, as the more solemn Baptifm ; for which Reason it was a Custom in some Churches, not to advance any to Clerical Orders, who had been so Baptized ; an Instance whereof we have in the Church of *Rome*, where the Ordination of

† Διακωλύομεν ἰσὺς πάντων τῶ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ ἢ λαϊκῶν ποικίλων, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἴδρον ἢ ἐπὶ κλίνης ἀλλ' ὅσον περιχυθέντα εἰς κλῆρον τινὰ γενέσθαι. Ex Epist. Cornel. ad Fabium Antioch. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 245.

Novatian to be a Presbyter, was † opposed by all the Clergy, and by many of the Laity, as unlawful, because of his Clinic Perfusion.

But yet that they held it not altogether, or absolutely unlawful to be done, appears from that on the Intreaties of the Bishop they consented that he should be ordained, as he accordingly was: And *Cyprian* in a set Discourse on this Subject, declares, that he thought this Baptifm to be as perfect and valid,

valid, as that done more solemnly by Immerfion; for when one *Magnus* writ to him, defiring his Opinion, whether those were truly baptized, who, through their Infirmities, were not dipt, but only perfused or aspers'd, he answer'd :

Nos quantum concipit mediocritas nostra, æstimamus in nullo mutilari & debilitari posse divina beneficia, nec minus aliquid illic posse contingere, ubi plena & tota fide & dantis & fumentis accipitur, quod de divinis muneribus hauritur. Neque enim sic in Sacramento Salutari delictorum contagia, ut in lavacro carnali & sæculari fordes cutis & corporis abluuntur, ut aphronitris & cæteris quoque adjunctis, & Solio & Piscina opus sit, quibus ablui & mundari corpusculum possit. Aliter pectus credentis abluitur, aliter mens hominis per fidei merita mundatur. In Sacramentis salutaribus necessitate cogente, & Deo indulgentiam suam

That as far as he could conceive, he apprehended that the Divine Benefits could in no wise be mutilated, or weakned, nor that less thereof could be bestowed, where the Divine Gifts are received with a sound and full Faith, both of Giver and Receiver: For in Baptism, the Spots of Sin are otherwise washed away, than the Filth of the Body in a Secular and Carnal Bath is, in which there is need of a Seat to sit upon, of a Vat to wash in, of Soap, and other such like Implements, that so the Body may be washed and cleansed; but in another manner is the Heart of a Believer

largiente, totum creden-
tibus conferunt Divina
compendia. Nec quem-
quam movere debet,
quod aspergi vel perfun-
di videantur ægri, cum
gratiam dominicam con-
sequuntur, quando Scrip-
tura sancta per *Ezechielem*
Prophetam loquatur &
dicat, & aspergam super
vos aquam mundam, &
mundabimini ab omnibus
immunditiis vestris, &
ab omnibus simulachris
vestris emundabo vos, &
dabo vobis cor novum, &
Spiritum novum dabo in
vobis. Item in *Numeris*,
& homo qui fuerit
immundus usque ad ves-
peram, hic purificabitur
die tertio, & die septimo
& mundus erit; si au-
tem non fuerit purifica-
tus die tertio, & die sep-
timo, non erit mundus,
& exterminabitur anima
illa de Israel, quoniam a-
qua aspersionis non est
super eum sparsa. Et
iterum, & locutus est
Dominus ad Moysen, di-
cens, accipe *Leyitas* de

*liever washed, other-
wise is the Mind of a
Man purified by the
Merits of Christ. In
the Sacraments of Sal-
vation through the In-
dulgence of God in
Cases of Necessity, the
Divine Abridgments
convey the whole to
those that believe;
Nor let any one think
it strange, that the
Sick, when they are
Baptized, are only
perfused or sprinkled,
since the Scripture
says, by the Prophet
Ezekiel, Chap. 36.
v. 25, 26. I will sprin-
kle clean Water upon
you, and ye shall be
clean; from all your
Filtbinesses, and from
all your Idols will I
cleanse you; a new
Heart also will I give
you, and a new Spirit
will I put within you.
Also it is said in
Numbers, chap. 19.
19, 20. And the Man
which shall be unclean
to the Evening, he
shall*

medio Filiorum Israel, & purificabis eos, & ita facies eis purificationem eorum, circumsparges eos aqua purificationis; & iterum, aqua asperfusionis purificatio est. Unde apparet asperfusionem quoque aquæ instar salutaris lavacri obtinere; & quando hæc in ecclesia fiunt, ubi sit & dantis & accipientis fides integra, stare omnia & consummari ac perfici posse maiestate Domini & Fidei veritate. *Epist. 76. §. 9. p. 249, 250.*

and thus shalt thou do unto them to cleanse them, sprinkle Water of Purifying upon them. And again, the Water of Asperfusion is Purification: From whence it appears, that sprinkling is sufficient instead of Immersion; and whensoever it is done, if there be a sound Faith of Giver and Receiver it is perfect and compleat.

And a little after in the same Epistle, the said Father argues the Validity of Baptizing by Sprinkling, because such as had been so Baptized, were never Baptized again.

Aut si aliquis existimat eos nihil consecutos, *If, saith he, any shall think that such have*

shall be purified the third Day, and the seventh Day, and he shall be clean; but if he shall not be purified the third Day, and the seventh Day, he shall not be clean, and that Soul shall be cut off from Israel, because the Water of Asperfusion hath not been sprinkled on him. And again the Lord spake unto Moses, Numb. 8. v. 6, 7. Take the Levites from among the Children of Israel, and cleanse them;

have

eo quod aqua salutari tantum perfusi sunt, sed inanes & vacuos esse; non decipiantur, & si incommodum languoris evaserint & convaluerint, baptizentur. Si autem baptizari non possunt, qui jam baptismo Ecclesiastico sanctificati sunt, cur in fide sua & Domini indulgentia scandalizantur? *Idem ibid.* §. 10. p. 250.

have not obtained the Grace of God, but are void and empty thereof, because they have been only Perfused with the Saving Laver; Let not such then that have been so Baptized, deceive themselves; but if they recover their Health, let them be Baptized; but if they cannot be Baptized, as having been already

Sanctified with the Ecclesiastical Baptism, why then are they scandalized in their Faith, and in the Mercy of God?

So that Sprinkling, or Perfusion was esteemed valid, and seems to be always used in Cases of Necessity, as Immersion was in their ordinary Publick Baptism, when as *Tertullian*

† *Ter. mergitatur. De Coron. Milit. p. 336.*

is, dipping him once at the naming of each

* *Nec semel, sed ter, ad singula nomina in personas singulas tingimur. Advers. Prax. p. 229.*

*writes, they † dipped the Baptized Person three times under Water, That is, dipping him once at the naming of each Person of the Holy Trinity. * We are, says the aforesaid Father, dipped at the naming of each Person.*

§. 7. When Baptism was over, the Person that had been then Baptized, as *Justin Martyr* relates

relates it, * *was received into the number of the Faithful, who then sent up their publick Prayers to God for all Men, for themselves, and for him that had been Baptized.* After which the Baptized Person, as the said Father goes on to

write, was admitted to receive the other Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the rest of the Faithful. So that in *Justin Martyr's* Age, at least in his Country at that Season, it seems very probable that there follow'd only Prayers after Baptism: But not long after his time, we meet with many other Ceremonies then used, which because they have some Relation to our present Controversies, I shall mention in the following Chapter.

* Ἡμεῖς ὁ μὲν τὸ ἕτως
 λῆσαι ἢ πεπεισμένον ἢ
 συγκατατεθείμενον ἐπὶ τὰς
 λεγομένας ἀδελφὲς ἀγομῶν
 εἶσα συνιγεμένοι εἰς κοινὰς
 εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ἑαυτῶν
 καὶ τῶν φιλῶν ἐν ἡμῶν
 καὶ πάντων ἀλλήλων
 εὐτόνως. Apolog. 2. p. 97.

C H A P. V.

§. 1. *After Baptism followed Chrismation, or Unction.* §. 2. *Then Signation, or Signing with the Sign of the Cross.* §. 3. *Then Imposition of Hands, or Confirmation.* §. 4. *Their Reasons for Unction.* §. 5. *For Signation.* §. 6. *For Imposition of Hands.* §. 7. *Confirmation immediately followed Baptism.* §. 8. *Presbyters confirmed as well as Bishops.* §. 9. *Confirmation reiterated.*

§. 1. **A**S for those Rites that succeeded Baptism, and which we find first mentioned in *Tertullian*, they were in Number Three, *viz. Unction, Signation, and Imposition of Hands*; or if the Reader pleases, he may call them all by the Name of Confirmation.

Touching Unction or Chrismation, *Tertullian* thus writes, * *As soon*

* *Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta Unctione— in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritualiter proficit. De Baptism. p. 599, 600.*

† *Ungi quoque necesse est eum qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto Chrismate, id est, Unctione, esse Unctus Dei, & habere in se gratiam Christi possit. Epist. 70. §. 3. p. 211.*

as we are baptized, we are anointed with the blessed Unction— An external carnal Unction is poured upon us, but it spiritually advantages. And to the same purpose says his Follower Cyprian, † He that is baptized must of necessity be anointed, that having received the Chrism or Unction, he may be the Anointed of God, and have him in the Grace of Christ.

§ 2. Under this Chrismation was comprehended Signation, or the Signing of the baptized Person with the Sign of the Cross, which the Minister performed with this Oyntment or Chrism. So saith Ter-

tullian, ^a *The Flesh is anointed, that the Soul may be consecrated. And then it follows, The Flesh is signed, that the Soul may be fortified.*

This Sign was made in the Forehead, as Cyprian observes, that King Uzias for invading the Priest's

Office, ^b *was smit with a Leprosie on his Forehead, and mark'd by an offended God on that Place where those are mark'd whom God receives. Hence he*

calls a Christian's Forehead, ^c A Signed Forehead; and thus elegantly exhorts the People

of Thibaris in Allusion hereunto, to take unto themselves the whole Armour of God, mentioned Ephes. 6. 12. ^d To

take unto themselves, for a Covering for their Head, the Helmet of Salvation, that their Ears might be fortified against the Persecutors Edicts; that their Eyes might be strengthened against the beholding of

^a Caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur: caro signatur, ut & anima muniatur. *De Resurrect. Carnis.*

^b Lepre varietate in fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notatus offenso Domino, ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur. *De Unit. Eccles. § 16, p. 301.*

^c Frons cum signo. *De Lapsis, § 1. p. 277.*

^d Accipiamus quoque ad tegumentum capitis Galeam salutarem, ut muniatur aures, ne audiant edicta feralia; muniatur oculi ne videant detestanda simulachra; muniatur frons ut signum Dei incolume servetur. *Epist. 56. § 7. p. 156.*

detestable

detestable Images; that their Forehead might be fortified, that so the Sign of God might be kept inviolable. So Pontius speaks of certain Confessors, who by the Cruelty of their Tormen-

^a Confessores frontium notatarum secundâ inscriptione signatos. *In Vita Cypriani.*

tors ^a had their Foreheads marked a Second Time.

imitating the Acts of his Worship and Service, and prescribing the same to his deluded Adorers, as particularly in the idolatrous Services

of Mithras, ^b whose Priests

^b Tingit & ipse quosdam, utique credentes & fideles suos: expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit; & sic initiat Mithræ, signat illic in frontibus milites suos. *De Præscript. advers. Hæret.* p. 87.

baptized some as his believing and faithful Servants, and sign'd them in their Foreheads as his Soldiers.

§ 3. To Signation succeeded Imposition of Hands, or that which most properly we term Confirmation, which was, The Minister laid his Hands on the Head of the Party baptized, anointed and signed, and prayed that the Holy Ghost would be pleased to descend, and rest upon him: This immediately followed Signation, as that did Uction. So saith Tertullian,

^c The Flesh is anointed, that the Soul may be consecrated; the Flesh is signed, that the Soul may be

^c Caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur; caro signatur, ut & anima muniatur; caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut & anima spiritu illuminetur. *De Resurrect. Carnis.* p. 31.

fortified. *The Flesh is overshadowed with the Imposition of Hands, that the Soul may be enlightned by the Spirit. And ^a when the Unction is finished, then Hands are imposed, with Prayers invocating and inviting the Holy Spirit.*

^a Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum sanctum. *De Baptism.* p. 600.

§. 4. Having thus briefly shewn what their additional Acts to Baptism were, it will in the next Place be necessary to enquire into the Grounds or Reasons of their Usage of them; and first for Unction: This was taken from the Jewish Rites, where it was employed in the Instalment of the High Priest, to denote his sacerdotal Consecration to the Service of God, as *Tertullian* writes,

^b *This Unction is according to the Jewish Dispensation, wherein the High Priest was anointed with Oyl out of an Horn, as Aaron was by Moses. So*

^b De pristina Disciplina, qua ungi oleo de cornu in Sacerdotio solebant, ex quo Aaron a Moyse unctus est, *De Baptism.* p. 600.

now in the Times of the Gospel, all Christians being, as *Tertullian* says,

^c *Priests to God and the Father. They were in resemblance thereunto consecrated by the anointing of Oyl to their Priesthood; or, as the foresaid Father expresses it, ^d The Flesh is anointed, that the Soul may be consecrated.*

^c Nonne & Laici Sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque nos & Sacerdotes Deo & Patri suo fecit. *Exhort. ad Castitat.* p. 457-

^d Caro ungitur, ut anima consecretur. *De Resurrect. Carnis.* p. 31.

From the spiritual Unction also of God the Son, by God the Father, for which reason he was called *Christ*, or *Anointed*, they pleaded for their carnal and external Unction, as *Tertullian* saith,

^a *Christus dicitur à Chrismate quod est unctio, quæ Domino nomen accomodavit, facta Spiritualis, quia Spiritus unctus est à Deo patre, sicut in Actis: Collecti sunt enimvero in ista Civitate adversus sanctum filium tuum quem unxisti: Sic & in nobis carnaliter currit unctio, sed spiritualiter proficit.*
De Bapt. p. 600.

^a *Jesus is called Christ from being anointed, which Unction was Spiritual, because whilst only a Spirit, he was anointed by the Father, as in the Acts. They are gathered together in this City against thy Holy Son, whom thou hast anointed; but our Unction is Carnal, though it spiritually profits.*

Cyprian adds this further Reason for this Custom of Anointing, *viz.*
^b *He that is Baptized, must of necessity receive the Chrism, or Unction, that so he may be the Anointed of God, and have in him the Grace of Christ.*

§. 5. As for Signation, or the Signing with the Sign of the Cross: By this was denoted, That they were to be strong and valiant in the Cause of Christ, having their Hearts fortified and strengthened, as *Tertullian* observes,

^c *Caro signatur, ut anima muniatur. De Resurrect. Carnis. p. 31.*

^c *The Flesh is signed, that the Soul may be fortified.*
Hence this Sign was

made on an open, visible Place, on their Foreheads, which is the Seat of Courage and Confidence, implying thereby, that they ought courageously and constantly to fight like good Soldiers under the Cross of Christ; whence *Tertullian* says, that as the Christians, so the Priests of *Mithras*^a sign'd the Foreheads of their Soldiers.

^a Signat illic in frontibus milites suos. *De præscript. adv. Hæret.* p. 87.

§ 6. As for the very Act of Confirmation, or Imposition of Hands, that was practis'd from an Opinion of the Imperfection of Baptism, that that did not convey the Graces of the Holy Spirit, but only prepared Persons for the Reception of them, when they should be actually bestown in the Confirmation, for as *Tertullian* says,^b *We do not receive the Holy Ghost in Baptism; but being purified therein by the Angel, (alluding to the Angel that moved upon the Pool at Bethesda) we prepared for the Holy Ghost. And,*^c *When our Bodies are cleansed and blessed, then that most Holy Spirit willingly descends from the Father. And*^d *at the Imposition of Hands, the Soul is illuminated by the Spirit.*

^b Non quod in aqua Spiritum Sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati ab Angelo Spiritui sancto præparamur. *De Baptism.* p. 599.

^c Tunc ille sanctissimus Spiritus super emundata & benedicta corpora libens a patre descendit. *Ibid.* p. 600.

^d Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut & anima spiritu illuminetur. *De Resurrect. Carnis.* p. 31.

Cyprian in his 74th Epistle, §. 6, 7, 8. discourses somewhat largely of this Custom of Confirmation; from whence I have observ'd this following Account

^a Non per manus impositionem quis nascitur, quando accipit Spiritum Sanctum, sed in baptismo, ut Spiritum jam natus accipiat, sicut in primo homine Adam factum est. Ante enim Deus eum plasmavit, & tunc insufflavit in faciem ejus flatum vitæ; nec enim potest accipi Spiritus, nisi prius fuerit qui accipiat. § 8. p. 230.

of it. ^a Every one in a State of Heathenism and Idolatry was considered as dead; wherefore when any one came from that State to the christian Faith, he was said to live; which Life may be compared to a natural Life: As to compleat a natural Life, there must be a Body and a Soul, so must the same be imagin'd in a spiritual

Life: As in the first Creation, God first formed the Body of Man, and then breathed into him the Breath of Life; first made a fit Subject to receive the Soul, before the Soul its self was framed: So in the second Creation, God first prepares the Man, before he gives his Spirit; he first makes the Man a fit Temple for the Holy Ghost, before he gives the Holy Ghost. Now the Way by which a Man is prepared and fitted, is by Baptism, by which he is cleansed and purged from Sin, and fitted for the Reception of the Spirit of God, in which Respect he is to be regarded as a Body: The Way by which the Holy Ghost is infused, which as a living Soul must actuate and direct that prepared Body, is by Prayer and Imposition of Hands, or by Confirmation. For as

Cyprian

Cyprian writes in the same Place, ^a *Baptism alone cannot purge away Sins, or sanctifie a Man, unless he has also the Holy Ghost.* That is, has received Confirmation, as

it is frequently styl'd in Cyprian's Epistles, in the Decrees of the Council of Carthage, and in the Letter of Cornelius to Fabius Bishop of Antioch, extant in Eusebius, Lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 244. This being the Regeneration of the Spirit, and Baptism the Regeneration of Water, both which our Saviour affirmed to be necessary, when he said unto Nicodemus, John 3. 5. *Except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* As Nemesianus Bishop of Thubunis saith, one is not sufficient without the other, ^b *the Spirit cannot operate without Water, nor the Water without the Spirit.* Therefore it was necessary to be regenerated by both Sacraments, viz. by Baptism and by Confirmation. Wherefore as Cyprian exhorts, we must pray, ^c *That those who are yet Earthly, may become Heavenly, and be born of the Water and the Spirit.* That is, be baptized and confirm-

^a Peccata enim purgare, & hominem sanctificare aqua sola non potest, nisi habeat & Spiritum sanctum. § 7. p. 230.

^b Neque enim Spiritus sine aqua operari potest, neque aqua sine Spiritu ———-utroque Sacramento debere eos renasci in Ecclesia Catholica. Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 444.

^c Ut qui adhuc sunt primâ nativitate terreni, incipiant esse cœlestes, ex Aqua & Spiritu nati. De Orat. Dominic. § 12. p. 213.

ed, which were the external Signs of Cleansing from Sin, and bestowing Grace, both being necessary to make a compleat Christian; for as

^a Tunc enim demum plenè sanctificari, & esse filii Dei possunt, si Sacramento utroque nascantur; cum scriptum sit, nisi quis natus fuerit ex Aqua & Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei. *Epist.* 62. § 1. p. 216.

to the Kingdom of God.

So that though a Person was baptized, yet they accounted his Christianity incompleat and imperfect till he was also confirmed: For which Reason *Cornelius* objects against *Novatian*,

^b Νόσω περιπεσών χαλεπή — ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ἢ ἐκεί-
το περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν. εἰ γὰρ
χρὴ λέγειν τὸ τοῦτον εἰλη-
φείηαι, ἔ μὴ ἔδε ἢ ἄλοι-
πῶν ἔτυχε διαφύγων τινὸς
νόσον, ὧν χρὴ μέγαλα μ-
βάνειν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
κατόνα, τὰ τε σφραγίσματα
ὑπὸ τῷ ὀπισκόπῳ. *Epist.*
ad Fab. Antioch. apud
Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p.
244.

the same Father writes,
^a Then are Men truly sanctified, and fully become the Sons of God, when they are regenerated with both Sacraments, Baptism and Confirmation; according as it is written, Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter in-

Novatian, that he ^b could scarcely acknowledge him a compleat Christian, because being baptized in his Bed, he had not received Confirmation, or the additional Rituals to Baptism, nor did he ever after receive them.

Thus you see the Reasons they produced for this Usage, to fortifie which, they added some Examples of the Holy Writ, as *Tertullian* cites to this purpose the Example of *Jacob*

in ^a Genesis, who put his Hands on the Heads of Ephraim and Manasses, and blessed them. And Cyprian urges that Instance of the Apostles, Acts, 8. 15, 17. where, after several of the Sa-

maritans had been baptized by Philip, Peter and James conferred the Holy Ghost on them by Imposition of Hands,

^b They had no need again to be baptized, saith he, having been baptized by Philip, but only what was wanting or lacking, was performed by Peter and John, which was, that by Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, the Holy Ghost should be conferred on them; which Custom, as he there adds, is now observed by us, that those who are baptized in the Church, are offered to the Governours thereof, by whose Prayer and Imposition of Hands, they receive the Holy Ghost, and are compleated with the

Lord's Seal. To this Practice also Firmilian refers that Action of St. Paul, in Acts 19. 5. Where on those who had been only baptized by

^a Est hoc quoque de veteri instrumento quo nepotes suos ex Josephi Efrem & Manassem, Jacob capitibus impositis & intermutatis manibus benedixerit. *De Baptism.* p. 600.

^b Quia legitimum & ecclesiasticum baptismum consecuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultra non oportebat: Sed tantummodo quod deerat id à Petro & Johanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habitâ, & manu imposita, invocaretur & infunderetur super eos Spiritus sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis Ecclesiæ offerantur, & per nostram orationem ac manûs impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, & signaculo dominico consummentur. *Epist.* 73. § 8. p. 220.

^a John's

90 **The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.**

^a Eos qui ab Johanne baptizati fuerint, priusquam missus esset à Domino Spiritus Sanctus baptizavit denuo Spirituali baptismo, & sic eis manum imposuit, ut acciperent Spiritum Sanctum. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 7. p. 237.*

^b Invenimus hoc esse ab Apostolis custoditum, ut in domo Cornelii Centurionis super Ethnicos qui illic aderant, Fidei calore ferventes, descendisset Spiritus Sanctus, &c. *Epist. 75. § 1. p. 216.*

^a *John's Baptism, he conferred the Holy Ghost by Imposition of Hands. And Cyprian applies to Confirmation the Descent of the Holy Ghost, Acts 10. 44.* ^b *in miraculous Operations and Gifts of Tongues on Cornelius and his Friends, though they were not then baptized.*

So much now for the Reasons of Confirmation; all that I shall do more, is to add two or

three Observations concerning it.

§. 7. The first whereof is, That Confirmation was an immediate Consequent of Baptism; it was not deferred till many Years after, but was presently administered, as *Tertullian* writes,

^c *Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedictâ Untione ——— dehinc manus imponitur. De Baptism. p. 599. p. 600.*

^c *As soon as we come out of the Baptismal Laver, we are anointed, and then we are confirmed. Else if they had not been so soon confirmed, they*

must, notwithstanding their Baptism, according to their Opinions, as it hath been before demonstrated, have continued graceless, without the Adorning Gifts of the Holy Spirit, a long Time, even as long as their Confirmation

was

was delayed, which to imagine concerning them is unreasonable and uncharitable.

Indeed in Case of Necessity, when they had neither Time nor Conveniency it was waved, as Immersion was with respect to Baptism; but yet if the sick Person happened to recover, he was then to be confirmed, as is evident from the Case of *Novatian*, whom *Cornelius* accuses, because ^a that

when he was restored to his Health again, he was not confirmed according to the Canon of the Church. But otherwise Confirmation immediatly, or at the same time followed Baptism.

Ὁ Οὐ μὴ ἐξ ἑτῆς λοιπῶν
ἔτυχε διαφυγῶν τὴν νό-
σον, ὧν χρεὶ μεταλαμβάν-
ειν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίας κα-
νόνα, τῆς τε σφραγισθῆναι
ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς *Arud.*
Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. p.
244.

§. 8. From the former Observation there follows this, that not only the Bishop, but also his Presbyters or Curates did by his Permission, and in his Absence confirm: For if Confirmation always succeeded Baptism, then whenever Baptism was, there was also Confirmation. Now as for Baptism, we may reasonably suppose, that in a Church there were some fit to be baptized at least once a Year; and sometimes it might happen that either the See was vacant, or the Bishop through Persecution might be absent from his Flock so long a Time, as *Cyprian* was double the Space; and if so, must no Persons have been baptized within that time by reason of the Bishop's unavoidable Absence? That seems a little hard, since, as was said before,

fore, they esteemed Baptism and Confirmation necessary to Salvation, and to deprive those Souls of Salvation, that died within that Time, because they had not been confirmed by the Bishop, which was impossible, would be too severe and uncharitable.

Besides, that Presbyters did baptize, we have proved already ; and since Confirmation was done at the same time with Baptism, it is very reasonable to conclude, that he that did the one, performed the other also.

But, that Presbyters did confirm, will appear most evidently from this very Consideration, *viz.* That the Imposition of Hands on Persons just after Baptism, which we call Confirmation, and the Imposition of Hands at the Restitution of Offenders, which we call Absolution, was one and the self same Thing, Confirmation and Absolution being only Terms that we make use of, to distinguish the different Times of the Performances of the same Thing or Ceremony. The Thing or Ceremony was not different, Imposition of Hands was used both at one and the other, denoting the same mystical Signification, *viz.* The Conferring of the Holy Ghost and his Graces on that Person on whom Hands were imposed : Only now to distinguish the time of this Imposition of Hands whether after Baptism, or at the Reconciliation of Offenders ; these two Terms of Confirmation and Absolution are used by us, the former to signify that used just after Baptism, and the latter, that that was employed at the Restitution of Penitents.

This

This now, *viz.* That Confirmation and Absolution were one and the self same Thing, I shall presently prove. And then in the next place I shall shew, that with the Bishop, and sometimes without the Bishop, Presbyters did absolve by Imposition of Hands. And if these two Points can be clearly manifested, it will evidently follow that Presbyters did confirm; for if there was no Difference between Confirmation and Absolution, but only with respect to Time; and if Presbyters at one Time, *viz.* at Absolution conferred the Holy Ghost by Imposition of Hands, it is very unreasonable to deprive them of the same Power at the other Time, which was at Confirmation. If Presbyters could at one Season bestow the Holy Spirit, it is very probable that they could do the same at the other also.

Now as to the first Point, *viz.* That there was no Difference between Confirmation and Absolution, but that they were one and the same Thing; This will appear most evidently from the Consideration of that famous Controversie, touching the Validity of Hereticks Baptism, between *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*; or rather between the Churches of *Europe* and *Africa*, the Sum whereof was this: *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* asserted, That those who were baptized by Hereticks, and came over to the Catholick Church, should be received only by Imposition of Hands. *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* contended, that besides Imposition of Hands, they should also be baptized, unless that they had been before baptiz'd by the Orthodox, in
which

which Case Imposition of Hands should be esteemed sufficient. Now this Imposition of Hands they sometimes term that which we call Confirmation, and sometimes Absolution, promiscuously using either of those Expressions, and indifferently applying them according as they pleased, in one Place giving it the Title of Confirmation, and in another that of Absolution, which that they did, I shall endeavour to evince, by shewing;

First, That they called this Imposition of Hands Confirmation.

Secondly, That they called it Absolution.

First, I shall prove that they called it Confirmation; unto which End let us consider

^a Eos qui sint foris extra Ecclesiam tincti — quando ad nos, atque ad Ecclesiam quæ una est, venerint, baptizari oportere, eo quod parùm sit eis manum imponere ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, nisi accipiant & Ecclesiæ baptismum. Tunc enim demum plenè sanctificari & esse Filii Dei possunt, si Sacramento utroque nascantur, cum scriptum sit, nisi quis natus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu non potest introire in regnum Dei. *Epist. 72. § 1. p. 216.*

these following Passages, ^a *Those, says Cyprian, which are baptized without the Church, when they come unto us, and unto the Church which is but one, they are to be baptized, because the Imposition of Hands by Confirmation, is not sufficient without Baptism. For then they are fully sanctified, and become the Sons of God, when they are born with both Sacraments, according as it is written, Unless a Man be born again of the Water and of the Spi-*

rit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. To the same effect says Nemesianus Bishop of Thubunis

bunis, a Those do greatly err, who affirm that they ought only to be confirmed by Imposition of Hands, and so to be received, since it is manifest they must be regenerated with both Sacraments in the Catholick Church. And Secundinus Bishop of Carpis determined, that b on Hereticks, who are the Seed of Antichrist, the Holy Ghost cannot be conferred by Imposition of Hands alone in Confirmation.

Stephen pleaded on his Side ^c *That the very Name of Christ was so advantageous to Faith and the Sanctification of Baptism, that in what Place soever any one was baptized in that Name, he immediately obtained the Grace of Christ. But unto this Firmilian briefly replies, That if the Baptism of Hereticks, because done in the Name of Christ, was sufficient to purge away Sins, why was not Confirmation, that was performed in the Name of the same Christ, sufficient to bestow the Holy Ghost too? And therefore it is thus eagerly argued by*

a *Malè sibi quidam interpretantur, ut dicant, quod per manûs impositionem Spiritum sanctum accipiant, & sic recipiantur, cum manifestum sit utroque Sacramento debere eos renasci in Ecclesia Catholica. Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 444.*

b *Super filios alienos, & Soboles Antichristi Spiritum Sanctum per manus impositionem tantummodo non posse descendere. Act. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 446.*

c *Sed in multum, inquit, proficit nomen Christi ad fidem & baptismi Sanctificationem, ut quicumque & ubicumque in nomine Christi baptizatus fuerit, consequatur statim gratiam Christi, quando huic loco breviter occurri possit, & dici, quoniam si in nomine Christi valuit foris baptismus ad hominem purgandum, in ejusdem Christi nomine valere illic potuit & manûs impositio ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum. Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 16. p. 240.*

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^a Qui Hæreticis five Schismaticis patrocinantur, respondeant nobis habeantne Spiritum Sanctum, an non habeant? Si habent, cur illic baptizatis, quando ad nos veniunt, manus imponitur ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum, cum jam utiq; illic acceptus sit, ubi si fuit, dari potuit? Si autem foris cuncti Hæretici & Schismatici non habent Spiritum Sanctum, & ideo apud nos manus imponitur, ut hic accipiatur, quod illic nec est, nec dari potest: manifestum est nec remissionem peccatorum dari per eos posse, quos constat Spiritum sanctum non habere. *Epist. 76. § 8. p. 249.*

the Spirit of God, and therefore we lay Hands on them in Confirmation, that they may here receive, what Hereticks neither have, nor can give; it is manifest, that since they have not the Holy Ghost, they cannot give Remission of Sins. That is since they cannot confirm, therefore they cannot baptize. So that from

^b *Cyprian. Epist. 73. § 8. p. 220. & § 19. p. 224. Epist. 74. § 6, 7, 8. p. 230. Firmilian apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 7. p. 237. & § 11. p. 249.*

that which we now call Confirmation,

by Cyprian, ^a *Why do they, saith he, (meaning Stephen and his Party, who received Hereticks by Imposition of Hands only) patronize Hereticks and Schismaticks, let them answer us, have they the Holy Ghost, or have they not? If they have, why then do they lay Hands on those that are baptized by them, when they come over to us, to bestow on them the Holy Ghost, when they had received him before; for if he was there, they could confer him? But if Hereticks and Schismaticks have not*

these and ^b some other Passages, which to avoid Tedioufness I omit, it is clear, that both Stephen and Cyprian understood by Imposition of Hands,

Secondly,

Secondly, I now come to shew; that they also termed it Absolution, as will appear from these following Instances.

They (says Cyprian, meaning Stephen and his Followers) urge; that in what they do, they follow the old Custom, that was used by the Ancients when Heresies and Schisms first began, when those that went over to them, first were in the Church, and baptized therein, who when they returned again to the Church, and did Penance, were not forced to be baptized. But this, says he, makes nothing against us, for we now observe the very same, Those who were baptized here, and from us went over to the Hereticks, if afterwards being sensible of their Error they return to the Church, we only absolve them by the Imposition of Hands, because once they were Sheep, and as wandring and straying Sheep the Shepherd receives them into his Flock; but if those that come from Hereticks were not first baptized in the Church, they are to be baptized, that they may become Sheep; for there is but one Holy Water in the Church, that makes Sheep.

Et dicunt se in hoc veterem consuetudinem sequi, quando apud veteres Hæreseos & Schismatum prima adhuc fuerint initia ut hi illic essent, qui de Ecclesia recedebant, & hinc baptizati prius fuerant: quos tamen ad Ecclesiam revertentes, & pœnitentiam agentes, necesse non erat baptizare, quod nos quoque hodie observamus, ut quos constat hinc baptizatos esse, & à nobis ad Hæreticos transisse, si postmodum peccato suo cognito & errore digesto, ad veritatem & matricem redeant; satis sit in pœnitentem manum imponere: ut quia ovis jam fuerat, hanc ovem ab alienatam & errabundam in ovile suum pastor recipiat. Si autem qui ab Hæreticis venit, baptizatus in Ecclesia prius non fuit, sed alienus in totum & profanus venit: baptizandus est, ut ovis fiat, quia una est aqua in Ecclesia Sancta quæ oves faciat. Epist. 71. § 2. p. 214.

But that this Imposition of Hands was the same with Absolution, will most evidently appear from the Opinion or Determination of *Stephen*, and from *Cyprian's* Answer thereunto.

Stephen's Opinion or Determination was

^a Si quis ergo à quacunq̄ue Hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur in pœnitentiam. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 74. § 1. p. 229.*

^a If any shall from any Heresie come unto us, let nothing be innovated or introduc'd besides the old Tradition, which is, that Hands be imposed on him as a Penitent. Now un-

to that Part of this Decree which asserts the Reception of Hereticks only by Absolution, or the Imposition of Hands in Penance to be a Tradition, descended down from their Pre-

^b Si ergo aut in evangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum Epistolis, aut Actibus continetur, ut à quacunq̄ue Hæresi venientes non baptizentur, sed tantum manus illis imponatur in Pœnitentiam, observetur hæc divina & sancta traditio. *Ibid. § 2. p. 229.*

decessors, *Cyprian* replies, ^b That he would observe it as a Divine and Holy Tradition, if it were either commanded in the Gospel, and the Epistles of the Apostles, or contained in the Acts, that those who came from Hereticks should not be baptized, but only Hands imposed

on them for Penance, or, as Penitents; but that

^c Retro nusquam omnino præceptum est; neque conscriptum, ut Hæretico tantum manus in pœnitentiam imponatur, & sic ei communicetur. *Ibid. § 4. p. 229.*

for his Part, ^c he never found it either commanded or written, that on an Heretick Hands should be only imposed for Penance, and so he should be admitted to Communion. Where-

fore

fore he on his Side concludes and determins,

a Let it therefore be observ'd, and held by us, that all who from any Heresie are converted to the Church, be baptized with the one lawful Baptism of the Church, except those who were formerly baptized in the Church, who when they return, are to be received by the alone Imposition of Hands after Penance, into the Flock from whence they have strayed.

a Observetur itaque à nobis & teneatur--ut omnes qui ex quacunque Hæresi ad Ecclesiam convertuntur, Ecclesiæ unico legitimo baptismo baptizentur, exceptis his qui baptizati in Ecclesia prius fuerant, & sic ad Hæreticos transferant, hos enim oportet, cum redeant, actâ pœnitentiâ per manus impositionem solam recipi; & in ovile, undè erraverant, à Pastore restitui. Ibidem § 16. p. 232.

So that these Instances do as clearly prove, that they meant by their Imposition of Hands, Absolution, as the former Instances do, that they meant Confirmation, and both of them together plainly shew and evidence Confirmation and Absolution to be the very self-same Thing; for since they promiscuously used and indifferently applyed these Terms, and that very Thing, which in some Places they express by Confirmation, in others they call Absolution, it necessarily follows, that there can be no essential or specific Difference between them, but that they are of a like numerical Identity or Sameness. But,

Secondly, I now come in the next Place to demonstrate, that together with the Bishop, and sometimes without the Bishop, Presbyters did absolve by Imposition of Hands. That they did it, together with the Bishop, several Places of Cyprian abundantly prove. *Offenders,*

^a Per impositionem manus Episcopi & Cleri jus communicationis accipiunt. *Epist.* 10. § 2. p. 30.

^b Nec ad communicationem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi & ab Episcopo & Clero manus fuit imposita. *Ep.* 12. § 1. p. 37.

that sometimes they did it without the Bishop (always understanding his Leave and Permission) is apparent from the Example of *Serapion*, who being out of the Churches Peace, and approaching the Hour of

^c Τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοι πρὸς κλήσιν— ἐν πολῆς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμῆ δεδομένης, τὰς ἀπαλλαττομένους, τὰ βίβ. εἰ δεοῖντο, καὶ μάλιστ' εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἐκέλευσαντες τυχοῖεν, ἀφίεσθαι, ἢν' ἀέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττωνται. *Ex Epist. Alexand. apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44. p. 246.*

And as the Bishop of *Alexandria* gave his Presbyters this Power, so likewise did *Cyprian* Bishop of *Cartbage*, who when he was in Exile, order'd his Clergy

^d Si premi infirmitate aliquâ & periculo coeperint exomologesi facta, & manu eis à vobis in pœnitentiam impositâ. *Epist.* 15. § 1. p. 41.

^e Si incommodo aliquo infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expecta-

saith he, ^a Receive the Light of Communion by the Imposition of Hands of the Bishop, and of his Clergy. And, ^b No Criminal can be admitted to Communion, unless the Bishop and Clergy have imposed Hands on him. And

approaching the Hour of Dissolution, ^c sent for one of the Presbyters to absolve him, which the Presbyter did, according to the Order of the Bishop, who had before given his Permission unto the Presbyters to absolve those who were in Danger of Death.

And as the Bishop of *Alexandria* gave his Presbyters this Power, so likewise did *Cyprian* Bishop of *Cartbage*, who when he was in Exile, order'd his Clergy ^d to confess and absolve by Imposition of Hands, those who were in Danger of Death. And ^e if any were in such Condition, they should not expect his Presence, but betake themselves to the first Presbyter they

they could find, who should receive their Confession, and absolve them by Imposition of Hands.

So that it is evident that Presbyters, even without the Bishop, did absolve Offenders, and formally receive them into the Churches Peace by Imposition of Hands.

Now then, if the Imposition of Hands on Persons just after Baptism, and the Imposition of Hands at the Restitution of Offenders was one and the self-same Thing; and if Presbyters had Power and Authority to perform the latter, I see no Reason why we should abridge them of the former; both the one and the other was Confirmation; and if Presbyters could confirm at one Time, why should we doubt of their Right and Ability to perform it another Time? If it was lawful for them to impose Hands on one Occasion, it was as lawful for them to do it on another.

§ 9. From the precedent Observation of the Identity of that which we now distinguish by the Names of Confirmation and Absolution, it necessarily results, that Confirmation was not like Baptism, only once performed, but on many Persons frequently reiterated: All Persons after Baptism were confirmed, that is, by the Imposition of Hands and Prayer, the Holy Ghost was beseeched to descend upon them, and so to fortifie them by his Heavenly Grace, as that they might courageously persevere in their Christian Warfare to their Lives

tâ præsentia nostrâ apud Presbyterum quemcunque præsentem. Exomologesin facere delicti sui possint; ut manu eis in pœnitentiam impositâ, veniant ad Dominum cum pace. *Epist.* 13. § 1. p. 39.

End; but if it should so happen, as oftentimes it did, that any so confirmed should fall from the Christian Faith, and be for a Time excluded the Churches Peace, when they were again admitted, Hands were again imposed on them, and the Holy Spirit again invocated, to strengthen them with his Almighty Grace, by which they might be upheld to the Day of Salvation; and so as often as any Man fell, and was restored to the Churches Communion, so often was he confirmed, and the Holy Ghost entreated more firmly to establish and settle him.

C H A P. VI.

§ 1. *Of the Lord's Supper: The Time when administered.* § 2. *Persons that received it; none present at the Celebration thereof besides the Communicants.* § 3. *The Manner of its Celebration; In some Places the Communicants first made their Offerings.* § 4. *The Minister began with a Sacramental Discourse, or Exhortation: Then followed a Prayer, consisting of Petitions and Praises, which consecrated both the Elements at once.* § 5. *After that the Words of the Institution were read.* § 6. *Then the Bread was broken, and the Wine poured out, and both distributed: Diversity of Customs in the Manner of the Distribution.* § 7. *The Posture of Receiving.* § 8. *After they had communicated they sang*

sang a Psalm; and then concluded with Prayer, and a Collection for the Poor.

§ I. **T**HE first of the Christian Sacraments having been so largely discussed, I now come to treat of the other, viz. The Lord's Supper; in the handling of which I shall enquire into these three Things: 1. The Time. 2. The Persons. And, 3. The Manner thereof.

First, As for the Time of its Celebration: In general, it was at the Conclusion of their solemn Services, as *Justin Martyr* writes ^a, ^a *Apolog. 2. pag. 27.* that after they had read, sung, preached and prayed, then they proceeded to the Administration of the Eucharist. But as for the particular Part of the Day, that seems to have been according to the Circumstances and Customs of every Church. In *Tertullian's* Age and Country they received it ^b at Supper-time; from which late

^b In tempore victus. *De Coron. Milit. p. 337.*

Assembling, it is probable, that the Heathens took occasion to accuse them of putting out the Lights, and promiscuously mingling one with another. Which Accusation may be read at large in *Justin Martyr's* Dialogue with *Tryphon*, in *Minutius Felix*, and the Apologies of *Tertullian* and *Athenagoras*. But whether this was then their constant Season in Times of Peace, I know not; this is certain, that in times of Persecution they laid hold on any Season or Opportunity for the enjoying of this Sacred Ordinance: whence *Tertullian* tells us

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^a Eucharistiæ Sacramentum etiam antelucanis cœtibus. *De Coron. Milit. p. 338.*

of their ^a receiving the Eucharist in their antelucan Assemblies, or, in their Assemblies before Day.

And *Pliny* reports, that in his Time the Chri-

^b Antelucem convenire — seque Sacramentum obstringere. *Epist. ad Trajan.*

tians ^b were wont to meet together before it was light, and to bind themselves by a Sacrament.

^c In matutinis Sacrificiis — cum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus. *Epist. 63. § 12. p. 177.*

Cyprian writes that in his Days ^c they administer'd this Sacrament both Morning and Evening.

^d Christum offerre oportebat circa vesperam diei, ut hora ipsa Sacrificii ostenderet occasum & vesperam mundi --- Nos autem resurrectionem Domini mane celebramus. *Ibidem.*

And ^d That as Christ administer'd the Sacrament in the Evening, to signifye the Evening and End of the World. So they celebrated it in the Morning, to denote the Resurrection of their Lord and Master.

All that can be gathered from hence is, That they did not deem any particular Part of the Day necessary to the Essence of the Sacrament, but every Church regulated its self herein according to the Diversity of its Customs and Circumstances.

§ 2. As for the Persons communicating, they were not indifferently all that professed

^e Οὐ παντὶ χράσκει μὴ χεῖρας τῷ ἄρτῳ, ἢ μὴ πίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου. *Com, in Joan. Vol. 2. Tom. 28. p. 345.*

the Christian Faith as *Origen* writes, ^e It doth not belong to every one to eat of this Bread, and to drink of this Cup. But

they were only such as were in the number of the

the faithful ^a such as were baptized, and received both the Credentials and Practicals of Christianity. That is, who believed the Articles of the Christian Faith, and led an holy and a pious Life. Such as these, and none else, were permitted to communicate.

Now since none but the Faithful were admitted, it follows that the Catechumens and the Penitents were excluded; the Catechumens because they were not yet baptized, for Baptism always preceded the Lord's Supper, as *Justin Martyr* says ^b.

It is not lawful for any one to partake of the Sacramental Food, except he be baptized. The Penitents, because for their

Sins they were cast out of the Church, and whilst excluded from the Peace thereof, they could not participate of the Marks and Tokens of that Peace, but were to be driven therefrom, and not admitted thereto, ^c till they had fully satisfied for their Faults, lest otherwise they should profane the Body of the Lord, and drink his Cup unworthily, and so be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.

^a Ἡ τερσὴ αὐτῆ καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν διχαιεσία. ἢς ἔδειν ἄλλω μεταχεῖν ἕξον ὕδιν, ἢ τῷ πισύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δειδιδυμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λυσταμένῳ τὸ ὑπὸ ἀρέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λελθόν, καὶ ἕως βίβην, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. *Just. Martyr. Apolog. 2. p. 97.*

^b Ἡς ἔδειν ἄλλω μεταχεῖν ἕξον ὕδιν ἢ — λυσταμένῳ τὸ ὑπὸ ἀρέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λελθόν. *Apolog. 2. p. 97, 98.*

^c Ante actam pœnitentiam--- offerre lapsis pacem, & Eucharistiam dare, id est, sanctum Domini corpus profanere audent, cum scriptum sit; Qui ederit panem, aut biberit calicem Domini indignè, reus erit Corporis & Sanguinis Christi. *Cyp. Epist. 11. § 1. p. 32.*

Hence

Hence when the other Parts of Divine Worship were ended, and the Celebration of the Eucharist was to begin, the Catechumens, Penitents, and all, except the Communicants,

^a *Piæ initiationas arce-* were to depart, as *Ter-*
ant profanos. Apolog. cap. tullian says hereof, ^a *Pi-*
 7. p. 674. *ous Initiations drive a-*

way the Profane. These being Mysteries which were to be kept secret and concealed from all, except the Faithful; inasmuch as to others the very Method and Manner of their Actions herein were unknown, which was observed by the Pagans, who objected to the Christians the Secrecy of their Mysteries, which charge *Ter-*
tullian does not deny, but confessing it, answers,

^b *Ex forma omnibus*
mysteriis silentii fides ad-
hibeatur, Samothracia &
Eleusinia reticentur. Apo-
log. cap. 7. p. 674.

^b *That that was the very*
Nature of Mysteries to be
concealed, as Ceres's were
in Samothracia.

§ 3. The Catechumens, with others being gone out, and none remaining but the Faithful, the Celebration of the Eucharist next followed; which brings me to the Inquiry of the third Thing, *viz.* The Manner of the Celebration thereof. But before I meddle therewith, I shall briefly premise this Observation, *viz.* That in some Places, as in *France* and *Africa* the Communicants first made their Offerings, presenting according to their Ability, Bread, or Wine, or the like, as the first Fruits

^c *Offerre igitur oportet*
Deo primitias ejus cre-
aturæ, sicut & Moyses ait,
non apparebis vacuus ante
conspectum Domini Dei
tui. Lib. 4. c. 34. p. 262.

of their Encrease, ^c *It*
being our Duty, as Ire-
næus writes, to offer unto
God the first Fruits of his
Creatures,

Creatures, as Moses saith, *Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord.* ^a

Not as if God wanted these Things, but to shew our Fruitfulness and Gratitude

unto him. Wherefore Cyprian thus severely blam'd the Rich Matrons for their scanty Oblations,

^a *Thou art rich and wealthy, saith he, and dost thou think duly to celebrate the Lord's Supper, when thou refusest to give? Thou who comest to the Sacrament without a Sacrifice, what Part canst thou have from the Sacrifice which the Poor offer up?*

^a Non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint. *Lib. 4. cap. 32. P. 261.*

^b Locuples & dives es, & Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ Corbonam omnino non respicis? Quæ in Dominicum sine Sacrificio venis, quæ partem de Sacrificio quod pauper obtulit, sumis? *De Opere & Eleemosy. § 14. p. 354.*

These Offerings were employed to the Relief of the Poor, and other Uses of the Church, and it seems probable that a sufficient Quantity of that Bread and Wine was presented to the Bishop, or to him that officiated, to be employed for the Sacramental Elements, whose Consecration next succeeded, which in the main was after this following Manner.

§ 4. It is very likely, that in many Places the Minister first began with an Exhortation or Discourse touching the Nature and End of that Sacrament, which the Congregation were going to partake of, that so their Hearts might be the more elevated and raised into Heavenly Frames and Dispositions. This may be gathered from the History of an Exorcist Woman, related by *Firmilian*, who took upon her to perform many Ecclesiastical Administrations, as

to baptize and celebrate the Lord's Supper, which last she did^a without the wonted Sermon, or,

^a Sine Sacramento solitæ prædicationis. *Apud Cypri. Epist. 75. § 10. p. 238.*

Discourse. Which seems to intimate, that in those Days it was customary

in Lesser *Asia*, and perhaps at *Carthage* too, for the Minister to make a Speech or Exhortation before the Participation of the Sacrament. But whether this Practice was universal, or more ancient than *Firmilian*, I cannot determine; this that follows was, *viz.* A Prayer over the Elements by him that officiated, unto which the People gave their Assent, by saying *Amen*. This Prayer is thus described by *Justin*

^b Προσφέρειται τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος, καὶ κρασί, καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνων αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὁλῶν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἡεῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει, καὶ εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταξίωσιν τούτων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὅτι πολὺ ποιεῖται, ἔσυνγελάσαντες τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ λαὸς λέγων Ἀμήν. *Apolog. 2. p. 97.*

^c Ευχαρίστησαντες δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ἐπιδημήσαντες παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, διακονοῖ, &c. *Ibid.*

Martyr, ^b Bread and Wine are offered to the Minister, who receiving them gives Praise and Glory to the Lord of all through the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in a large manner renders particular Thanks for the present Mercies; who when he hath ended his Prayers and Praise, all the People say Amen. And^c when the Minister had thus given Thanks, and the People said Amen, the Deacons distributed the Elements.

And again, ^a Bread and Wine are offered to the Minister, who to the utmost of his Abilities sends up Prayers and Praises, and the People say Amen, and then the consecrated Elements are distributed.

^a Ἄρτον προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ὁ προσεσῶς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπιδρομεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν, καὶ ἡ διαδοχὴ καὶ ἡ μεταλήψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκείτω γίνεται. Ibid. p. 98.

From this Description by *Justin Martyr* of the sacramental Prayer, we may observe these few Things pertinent to the Matter in hand.

I. That there was but one long Prayer antecedent to the Distribution of the Elements: For he says, *That the Minister having received the Bread and Wine, he offered up Prayers and Praise unto God in a large manner; and when he had ended, the People said Amen.*

II. That this long Prayer consisted of two Parts, viz. εὐχὰς, and εὐχαριστίας, as he calls them, that is, *Petition and Thanksgiving*; in the former they prayed for the Peace of the Church, the Quiet of the World, the Health of the Emperors, and in a Word, for all Men that needed their Prayers, as it is represented by *Tertullian*,^b *We pray, saith he, for the Emperors, for all that are in Authority under them, for the State of the World, for the Quiet of Affairs, and for the Delay of the Day of Judgment.* In the latter they gave God Thanks for sending
Christ,

^b Oramus pro Imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu Sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.

Christ, and for the Institution of that comfortable Sacrament, desiring his Blessing on, and Consecration of the Elements then before them.

III. That by this one Prayer both the Elements were consecrated at once; for he says, *That the Minister took both Elements together, and blessed them, and then they were distributed.* He did not consecrate them distinctly, but both together.

§ 5. After Prayer was ended, they read the Words of Institution, that so the Elements might be consecrated by the Word, as well as by Prayer. Whence Origen calls the Sacramental Elements

^a Τὸ ἀμαδίεντ' ἰσχυρὸν
 γὰρ Θεὸς καὶ ἐνίσχυσι ἄρτους---
 τὸ ἀμαζόμενον βρώμα διὰ
 λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνίσχυσεως.
 Com. in Matth. Vol. 1.
 P. 254.

^a *The Food that is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. And that is hollowed by the Word of God, and Prayer. And Irenæus writes, ^b That when the Bread and Wine perceive the Word of God, then it becomes the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ.*

^b Quando mixtus calix & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis & corporis Christi. Lib. 5. cap. 4. P. 318.

§ 6. The Elements being thus consecrated, the Minister took the Bread, and brake it,

^c Panis quem frangimus---fractus panis. Lib. 5. cap. 4. p. 318.

^c *The Bread which we break, or, the broken Bread, as it is styled by Irenæus, and then gave*

it to the Deacons, who distributed it to the Communicants,

Communicants, and after that Cup, which the Deacons in the like manner delivered. So it was in *Justin Martyr's* Time and Country,

^a *The Element*, saith he, being blessed, the Deacons give to every one present of the consecrated Bread and Wine. But in *Tertullian's* Time and Country the Minister, and

not the Deacons, distributed the Elements,

^b *We receive* saith he, from no one's Hands but the Bishops. And yet at the same Place not many years after, ^c *The Deacons offered the Cup to those that were present.* So that herein there was a Diversity of Cu-

stoms; in some Places the Deacons delivered the Elements, in others the Bishop, or the Minister that consecrated them. But whether it was done either by Bishop or Deacons, it seems probable, that which of them soever did it, they delivered the sacramental Bread and Wine particularly to each Communicant. I find but one Example to the contrary, and that was in the Church of *Alexandria*, where the Custom was to permit the People to take the Bread themselves from the Plate, or Vessel wherein it was consecrated,

as

^a Ἐυχαιήσαντο δὲ τὰ ἁγίασμα — δίακονοι διδάσιν ἐκείνω τῶν παρόντων, μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαιηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου. Apolog. 2. p. 97.

^b Nec de aliorum manu, quam præsentium sumimus. *De Coron. Milit.* p. 338.

^c Calicem Diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit. *Cyprian. de Lapsis*, § 20. p. 283.

^a Τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πνὲς διανείμαντες, ὡς ἔδϑ' αὐτὸν δὴ ἔχασον τῷ λαῷ λαβεῖν τὴν κοίτην ὁπίστροπῶσιν. *Stromat. lib. 1. p. 198.*

single Communicant.

^b Ἡ διάδοσις κ' ἢ μεταληψίς ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστήτων ἐκάσῳ γίνεται. *Apol. 2. p. 98.*

^c Calicem Diaconus offerre presentibus cœpit. *Cyprian. de lapsis, § 20. p. 283.*

In the Time of which Father it was usual for Children and sucking Infants to receive the Sacrament, unto whom it was necessary particularly to deliver the Elements, since it was impossible for them to take it orderly from the Hands of others: And therefore when a little sucking Girl refused to taste the Sacramental

^d Diaconus--- reluctanti licet de Sacramento calicis infudit. *Ibid. p. 284.* at Rome as appears

^e Ποίησας γὰρ τὰς περισφορῆς καὶ διανείμων ἐκάσῳ τὸ μέρϑ, κ' ὁπίστροπῶσιν τῷ λαῷ, ὁμίψαν ἀντὶ τῷ εὐλογεῖν τὰς τάλαιπῶρες ἀνδρώπες, αναγκάζει, κατέχων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς τῷ λαβοντῶ, κ' μὴ αφεῖς ἐς' ἄν ὁμνύ-

as is insinuated by ^a *Clemens Alexandrinus*; but in most other Churches it is likely that the Elements were particularly delivered to every So it was in the Country of *Justin Martyr*, where ^b the Deacons gave to each one of the consecrated Bread and Wine. So at Carthage in the Time of *Cyprian*, ^c The Deacons offered the Cup to those that were present.

Wine, ^d The Deacon violently forc'd it down her Throat. So it was also from what *Cornelius* reports of his Antagonist *Novatian*, that ^e when he administred the Sacrament, and divided and gave to each Man his Part; with his two Hands he held those of the Receiver, saying to him, Swear unto me by the Body and, Blood

Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt never leave my Party, to return to that of Cornelius; so forcing the miserable Receiver, instead of saying Amen, to say, I will not return to Cornelius.

οντες εἶπωσι ταῦτα... ὁμο-
σον μοι χ' ἵ τῆ σῶματ' ὁ,
καὶ τοῦ αἵματ' ὁ ἦ κρείε
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μηδέ πο-
τέ με καταλιπεῖν καὶ ὅπιστρέ-
ψαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον, καὶ ὁ
ἀδελφ' ἄνθρωπ' ὁ —
ἀντὶ ἡ εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα
τὸν ἄριστον ἐκείνον τὸ Ἀμύω,
ἐκέπι ἀνήζω πρὸς Κορνήλι-
ον λέγει. Apud Euseb. lib.
6. cap. 43. P. 245.

§ 7. As for the Posture of receiving, at Alexandria the Custom was to ^a stand at the Table, and receive the Elements, which may be supposed to have been after this manner: The

^a Τραπέζῃ παρασύντα.
Ex Epist. Dionys. Alexan.
apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap.
43. P. 245.

Bread and Wine being consecrated, the Communicants came up in order to the Communion Table, and there standing received the Elements, and then returned to their Places again. But whether this was universal I know not, or whether any other Postures were used, I cannot determin; only as for Kneeling, if the Sacrament was celebrated on the Lord's Day, as usually it was, or on any other Day between Easter and Whitsuntide, then no Church whatsoever kneeled; for as Tertullian

writes, ^b On the Lords Day we account it a Sin to worship kneeling, which Custom we also observe from Easter to Whitsuntide.

^b Die Dominico —
nefas ducimus — de
geniculis adorare, eadem
immunitate die Paschæ
in Pentecosten usque
gaudemus. De Coron. Mi-
lit. p. 340.

§ 8. The Elements being thus blessed, distributed, and received, they afterwards sang an Hymn or Psalm to the Praise and Glory of God, as *Tertullian* writes,

^a Quisque de Scripturis Sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio, provocatur in medium Deo canere. *Apol. cap. 39. p. 710.*

^a Then every one sings an Hymn to God, either of his own Composition, or out of the Holy Scriptures.

Then followed for a Conclusion a Prayer of Thanksgiving to God Almighty for his inestimable Grace and Mercy ; as the same *Tertullian* saith,

^b Oratio convivium dirimit, *Ibidem.*

^b Prayer concludes this Feast. To which was subjoined a

Collection for the Poor. When, as *Justin Martyr* reports,

^c Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ οἱ βελόμενοι καὶ περὶ αἰρήσειν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ βέλεται δίδωσι. καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀποδίδεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁπικυρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νότον, ἢ δι' ἄλλω αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔσσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ἔσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ ἔσι κηδεμῶν γίνονται. *Apol. 2. p. 98, 99.*

^c Every one that was able and willing gave according to his Ability, and that that was gathered, was committed to the Care of the Bishop, who relieved therewith the Orphans and Widows, the Sick and Distressed, Prisoners, Travellers, Strangers, and in a Word, all that had need thereof.

C H A P. VII.

- § 1. Of the Circumstances of Publick Worship.
 § 2. Of the Place thereof: In Times of Peace fixed Places for that End, metonymically called Churches. § 3. How those Churches were built.
 § 4. No Holiness in those Places. § 5. Of the Time of Publick Worship. § 6. The First Day of the Week an usual Time. § 7. Celebrated with Joyfulness, esteemed holy, and spent in an holy manner. § 8. Their Reasons for the Observation of this Day. § 9. The usual Title of this Day, The Lord's Day. § 10. Sometimes called Sunday, but never the Sabbath-Day.
 § 11. Saturday another Time of Publick Worship.

§ 1. **H**itherto I have spoken of the several particular Acts of the Publick Worship of the Ancients: I now come, according to my propounded Order, to enquire into the necessary Circumstances thereof. By which I mean such Things as are inseparable from all humane Actions, as *Place* and *Time*, *Habit*, and *Gesture*. As for *Habit*, as much of that as is controverted, I have spoken to already in that Chapter, where I discoursed of the Ministers Habit in Prayer. And as for *Gesture*, I have already treated of Worshipping towards the East. And of their Posture at the Reception of the Lord's

H 2

Supper.

Supper. There is nothing more disputed with reference thereunto, besides the Bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the Worshipping towards the Communion Table; but both these being introduced after my prescribed Time, *viz.* above three hundred Years after Christ, I shall say nothing to them, but pass on to the Discussing of the two remaining Circumstances of Publick Worship, *viz.* *Place and Time.*

§ 2. First. As for Place: This all will readily grant to be a necessary Circumstance of Divine Worship; for if we serve God, it is impossible, but that it ^{must} be in one Place or other. Now one Query with respect hereunto may be, Whether the Primitive Christians had determined fixed Places for their Publick Worship? Unto which I answer, That usually they had; though it is true indeed, that in Times of Persecution, or when their Circumstances would not permit them to have one usual fixed Place, they met where-ever

^a Πανήγυεικὸν ἡμῖν γέ-
γονε χροῖον, ἀρχῆ, ἐ-
σημῖα, ναῦς, πανδοχεῖον,
δεσμωτήριον. Dionys. A-
lex. apud Euseb. lib. 7. c.
22. p. 268.

they could ^a *in Fields, Deserts, Ships or Inns:* Yet in Times of Peace and Serenity they chose the most settled convenient Place that they

could get, for the Performance of their Solemn Services; which Place, by a Metonymy, they called the *Church*. Thus at *Rome* the Place where the Christians met, and chose *Fa-*

^b Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
Euseb. lib. 6. c. 29. p. 239.

bian for their Bishop, was ^b *the Church*. At *Antioch* *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop thereof, ordered certain Women

to sing Psalms to his Praise ^a in the midst of the Church. At Carthage the Baptized Persons renounced the Devil and all his Works. ^b in the Church. And thus ^c Tertullian very frequently calls their definite Places for Divine Worship Churches.

^a Ἐν μέσῳ τῆ ἐκκλησίας.
Apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 30.
p. 281.

^b In ecclesia. Tertul.
de Coron. Milit. p. 336.
^c In Lib. de Virgin. Ve-
land.

§ 3. As for the Form of these Churches, or the Fashion of their Building, I find this Description of them in Tertullian, ^d The House of our Dove-like Religion is simple, built on high and in open View, respecting the Light as the Figure of the Holy Spirit, and the East as the Representation

^d Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, etiam in editis semper & apertis, & ad lucem, amat figuram Spiritus sancti, Orientem Christi figuram.
Advers. Valentinian p. 284.

of Christ. The Meaning whereof is, that their Churches were erected on high and open Places, and made very light and shining, in imitation of the Holy Ghost's Descent upon the Apostles at the Day of Pentecost, who came down with Fire, or Light upon them; and that they were built towards the East, in resemblance of Christ, whom they apprehended in Scripture to be called the East, concerning which Title, and the Reason thereof, I have already discoursed in that Head concerning praying towards the East, unto which Place, to avoid repetition, I refer the Reader.

§ 4. But tho' they had these fixed Places or Churches for Conveniency and Decency, yet

they did not imagin any such Sanctity or Holiness to be in them, as to recommend or make more acceptable those Services that were discharged therein, than if they had been performed elsewhere; for as *Clemens Alexandrinus* writes,^a Every Place

^a Πᾶς ἐν ἣ ἴπθ' ἱε-
ρὸς τῷ ὄντι, ἐν ᾧ τῷ
ὀπίνοισιν τὸ Θεῶ λαμβάνο-
μεν. *Stromat. lib. 7. p.*
520.

^b Οὐδέχεται δὲ παρ
ἕθενος θυσίας ὁ Θεός, εἰ μὴ
διὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτῶ, πάν-
τας ἐν οἷ διὰ τῶ ὀνόματι
τέτε θυσίας — τὰς ἐν
πάντι ἴπθ' τῆς γῆς γνο-
μένας ὑπὸ τῶ χειτανῶν
παραβῶν ὁ Θεός μαρτυ-
ρεῖ ἐναρέσει ὑπάρχειν
αὐτῶ. *Dialog. cum Try-
phon. p. 344.*

is in Truth holy, where we receive any Knowledge of God. And as *Justin Martyr* saith,^b Through *Jesus Christ* we are now all become Priests to God, who hath promised to accept our Sacrifices in every or in any Part of the World. And therefore in times of Persecution, or such like Emergencies, they scrupled not to meet in other Places;

but where-ever they could securely join together in their Religious Services, there they met, though it were^c

^c Πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῶν γέ-
ρονε, χωρίον, ἀρχῶ, ἐρη-
μία, ναῦς, πανδ' οὐχίον, δεσ-
μώλειον. *Dionysf. A-
lexand. apud Euseb. lib.*
7. cap. 22. p. 268.

in Fields, Deserts, Ships, Inns or Prisons, as was the Case and Practice of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*. So that the Primitive Practice and

Opinion with respect to this Circumstance of Place was, That if the State of their Affairs would permit them, they had fixed Places for their Publick Worship, call'd Churches, which they set apart to that Use, for Conveniency and Decencie's sake; but

not attributing unto them any such Holiness, as thereby to sanctifie those Services that were performed in them.

I know nothing more with respect to *Place*, that requires our Consideration : I shall therefore now proceed to enquire into the *Time* of Publick Worship, under which will be comprehended the Primitive Fasts and Feasts.

§ 5. Time is as necessary a Circumstance to Religious Worship as Place ; for whilst we are in this World, we cannot serve God at all Times, but must have some determinate Time to serve him in : That God's People therefore under the Law might not be left at an Uncertainty when to serve him, it pleased the Almighty to institute the Sabbath, the Passover, and other Feasts, at which Times they were to congregate and assemble together, to give unto God the Glory due unto his Name. And for the same End under the Evangelical Administration there are particular Days and Seasons appointed for the Publick and Solemn Worship of the Glorious and Eternal Lord, according to the Sayings of *Clemens Romanus*, God hath required us to serve him. ^a *in the appointed Times and Seasons.* For which Reason we ought to serve him ^b *at those determinated Times.* That so worshipping

^a Δεικνύμενοι καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις Epist. 1. ad Corinth p. 52.

^b Κατὰ καιροὺς τεταγμένους. Ibid.

120 *The Worship, Ceremonies, &c.*

^a Τοῖς προσευχόμενοις *him* ^a *at those comman-*
καυεῖς Ibid p. 53. ded Seasons, we may be
 blessed and accepted by him.

§ 6. Now the principallest and chiefest of these prescribed Times was the first Day of the Week, on which they constantly met together to perform their Religious Services. So writes *Justin Martyr.*

^b Τῇ δὲ τῆς ἡλίας λεγο- *On the Day that is cal-*
 μένη ἡμέρᾳ, πάντων κτ^τ *led Sunday, all both of*
 πόλεις ἢ ἀγρῶς μενόντων *the Country and City as-*
 ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ συμβέλλουσι *semble together, where we*
 γίνεται. &c. *Apolog. 2.* *preach and pray, and dis-*
 p. 98. *charge all the other usual*
Parts of Divine Worship.

Upon which account those Parts of God's publick Worship are styled by *Tertullian* ^c *The Lord's Days Solemnities.* *Au-*

^c *Dominica Solennia.* *De Anima. c. 3. p. 530.* *relius, who was ordained a Lector, or a Clark,*
 by *Cyprian*, is described in the Execution of

^d *Dominico legit. Cyp. Epist. 33. p. 77.* *his Office,* ^d *by reading*
on the Lord's Day. And *Victorinus Petavionensis*

^e *Die Dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem exeamus. De fabric. Mundi apud D. Cave, p. 103.* *represents,* ^e *this day,*
as an usual Time, wherein *they received the Lord's*
Supper. Which was ob-
served by the Heathen
in Minucius Felix, who
mentions the Christi-
ans ^f *assembling to eat on*
a Solemn Day. And Pli-
ny reports, that the
Christians

^f *Ad epulas Solenni die coeunt. p. 26.*

Christians in his Time met together ^a on an appointed Day, to sing Praises unto Christ, as a God, and to bind themselves by a Sacrament.

^a Essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem, seque Sacramento obstringere. *Epist. ad Trajan.*

§ 7. This was the Day which *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls ^b the Chief of Days, our Rest indeed; Which they observed as the highest and supremest Festival, ^c On Sunday we give our selves to Joy, saith *Tertullian*. And before him *St. Barnabas*, ^d We keep the Eighth Day with Gladness. And *Ignatius* ^e We observe the Lord's Day, banishing every Thing on this Day that had the least Tendency to, or the least Appearance of Sorrow and Grief; inasmuch that now they ^f esteemed it a Sin either to fast or kneel: Even the *Montanists* themselves, those rigid Observers of Fasts and Abstinences ^g Abstained from Fasting on this most glad and joying day.

^b Ἀρχέγονον ἡμέραν, τῷ τῷ ὄντι ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῶν. *Strom. lib. 6. p. 492.*

^c Diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus. *Apolog. cap. 16. p. 688.*

^d Ἀγομεν τῷ ἡμέραν τῷ ὀγδὼτῳ εἰς εὐφροσύνην. *Epist. Cathol. § 11. p. 244.*

^e Κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες, *Ad Magnes. p. 35.*

^f Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare. *Tertul. de Cor. Mil. p. 339. 340.*

^g Quantula est enim apud nos interdictio ciborum duas in anno Hebdomadas Xerophagiarum nec totas, exceptis scilicet Sabbatis & Dominicis offerimus Deo. *Tertullian de Jejunio, p. 651.*

This Day they accounted Holy, as *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, in his Letter to the Church

^a Τὴν σήμερον ἐν κυριακὴν ἀγίαν ἡμέραν διατάξομεν. Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 145.

of *Rome*, saith, ^a *To day being the Lord's Day, we keep it holy. The Way wherein they sanctified it, or kept it holy, was the employ-*

ing of themselves in Acts of Divine Worship and Adoration, especially in the Publick Parts thereof, which they constantly performed on this Day, as has been already proved; and in that forementioned Letter, where *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, writ unto the Church of *Rome*, that that Day being the Lord's Day, they kept it Holy. The Manner of sanctifying it is im-

mediately subjoined, ^b

^b Ἐν ἡ ἀνεγνωκαμεν ἑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν — ὡς καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡμῶν διὰ Κλήμεντος γεγραψάν. Ibidem.

In it, saith he, we have read your Epistle, as also the first Epistle of Clemens. And Clemens Alexandrinus writes, ^c

^c Οὗτος ἐπιστολὴν τὴν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διαπραξάμενος, κυριακὴν ἐκείνῃ τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ, ὅτ' ἀνὰ ἀποβάλλῃ φάυλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων. Strom. lib. 7. p. 535.

That a true Christian, according to the Commands of the Gospel, observes the Lord's Day, by casting out all evil Thoughts, and entertaining all good ones, glorifying the Resurrecti-

on of the Lord on that Day.

§ 8. The Reason why they observed this Day with so much Joy and Gladness, was; that they might gratefully commemorate the glorious

glorious Resurrection of their Redeemer, that happened thereon. So

writes St. Barnabas, ^a *We keep the eighth Day with Gladness, on which Christ arose from the Dead.* So says Ignatius,

^b *Let us keep the Lord's Day, on which our Life arose through him.*

And so says Clemens Alexandrinus, ^c *He that truly observes the Lord's Day, glorifies therein the Resurrection of the Lord.*

Justin Martyr relates that ^d *On Sunday the Christians assembled together, because it was the first Day of the Week, on which God out of the confused Chaos made the World, and Jesus Christ our Saviour arose from the Dead; for on Friday he was crucified, and on Sunday he appeared to his Apostles and Disciples, and taught them those Things that the Christians now believe.* And to the

same purpose Origen adviseth his Auditors to pray unto Almighty God, ^e *especially on the Lord's Day, which is a*

^a Ἀγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδοὴν εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν. Epist. Cathol. c. 11. p. 244.

^b Κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες ἐν ἣ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτελεν δι' αὐτοῦ. Epist. ad Magnes. p. 35.

^c Κυριακῶ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρῃ ποιεῖ — τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῆ κυρίᾳ ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων. Stromat. lib. 7. p. 535.

^d Τὴν δὲ 7 ἡλίαν ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν σωτέραν ποίμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ὄσιν ἡμεῖς, ἐν ἣ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας, κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῆ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρα ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη, τῇ γὰρ περὶ τῆς κερνικῆς ἐσάυρωσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν κερνικῶν ἡτίς ὄσιν ἡλίαν ἡμέρα φανεῖς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐδίδαξε πάντα ἀπερ εἰς ὀπίσκειν καὶ ὑμῶν ἀνεδώκαμεν. Apolog. 2. p. 99.

^e Maximè in Dominica die, quæ passionis Chri-

Commemorations

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Iti Commemoratrix est :
neque enim resurrectio
Domini semel in Anno,
& non semper post sep-
tem dies celebratur. In
Isaiam, Homil 5,

Commemoration of Christ's
Passion; for the Resur-
rection of Christ is not on-
ly celebrated once a Year,
but every seven Days.

§ 9. From hence it was, that the usual
Appellation of this Day both by the Greek
and Latin Churches, was *The Lord's Day*. So
it is styled by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, τὴν κυριακὴν
ἡμέραν. ^a *The Lord's Day*.

^a *Strom. lib. 5. p. 437.*
& *lib. 7. p. 535.*

^b *De Fabric. Mund. apud*
Dr. Cave, Hist. literar. p.
103.

^c *Dies dominicus. Apud*
Cyprian. Ep. 53. § 3. p.
164.

^d *Dominicum diem.*
De Idololat. p. 623.

the Lord's, without the Addition of the Word
Day; as it is thus called
τὴν κυριακῆ by ^e *Ignatius*.
And *Dominicus* by ^f *Cy-*
prian.

§ 10. So that the Lord's Day was the com-
mon and ordinary Title of this blessed and
glorious Day; though sometimes in compli-
ance with the Heathens, that they might know
what Day they meant thereby, they called it
in their Phrase, *Sunday*, so termed because
dedicated to the Sun.

Thus *Justin Martyr* informing the Heathens
of the Time and Manner of the Christians
Assemblies

Assemblies tells them ^a

That on the Day called Sunday they met together for their Religious Exercises. And, That on Sunday they assembled together. And so Tertullian

upon the same Occasion lets the Heathens

know that the Christians ^b indulg'd themselves on Sunday to Mirth and Joyfulness.

But though they so far complied with the Heathens as to call *this Sunday*, yet I do not find that they ever so far indulg'd the Jews as to call it the *Sabbath Day*; for through all their Writings, as may be especially seen in ^cTertul-

lian, and ^dJustin Martyr, they violently de-

claim against Sabbatizing, or keeping the Sabbath Day, that is, the Judaical Observation of the Seventh Day, which we must always understand by the Word *Sabbatum* in the Writings of the Ancients, not the Observation of the first Day, or the Lord's Day; for that was constantly celebrated, as it has been already proved; and by those who condemn the Observance of the Sabbath Day, the Sanctification of the Lord's Day is approved and recommended, as by *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* in those Passages already cited, unto which we may add that clear

Passage

^a Τῆς ἡμέρας λεγομένης ἡμέρας πάντων καὶ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μερόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σωέλδους γίνεται— τὴν δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν. Apolog. 2. p. 98, & 99.

^b Diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus. Apolog. c. 16. p. 688.

^c Advers. Judæos.

^d Dial. cum Tryphon.

^a Μικτέπ σαββαρίζοντες ἀλλ' ἀ. κτ' κυριακὴν ζῶντες, ἐν ἣ κ' ἡ ζῶν ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτῆ
Epist. ad Magnes. p. 35.

^b Κατὰ τὸ σαββαΐσαι ἐοράζετω πᾶς φιλέχριστος τῷ κυριακῷ, τῷ ἀναστάσιμον, τῷ ὕπατον πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν — ἐν ἣ κ' ἡ ζῶν ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλε, καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ γέγνε νίκη ἐν Χριστῷ. Epist. interpol. ad Magnes. p. 149.

Passage of Ignatius, ^a Let us no longer Sabbatize, but keep the Lord's Day, on which our Life rose. Or as it is more fully expressed in his interpolated Epistle, ^b Instead of Sabbatizing, let every Christian keep the Lord's Day, the Day on which Christ rose again; the Queen of Days, on which our Life arose, and Death was conquered by Christ.

§ XI. So that their not Sabbatizing did not exclude their Keeping of the Lord's Day nor the Christian, but only the Judaical Observance of the Sabbath, or Seventh Day; for the Eastern Churches, in compliance with the Jewish Converts, who were numerous in those Parts, performed on the Seventh Day the same publick Religious Services that they did on the first Day, observing both the one and the other as a Festival. Whence Ori-

^c Παρασηδῶν. Contra Celf. lib. 8. p. 393.

gen enumerates ^c Saturday as one of the four

Feasts solemnized in his Time; though on the contrary, some of the Western Churches, that they might not seem to Judaize, fasted on Saturday,

aturday, as *Victorinus Petavionensis* writes, *a We use to fast on the Seventh Day.* And, *It is our Custom then to fast, that we may not seem with the Jews to observe the Sabbath.*

a Die septima---solemus superponere --Parasceve superpositio fiat, ne quod cum Judæis Sabbatum observare videatur. *De Fabric. Mun. apud D. Cave. p. 103.*

So that besides the Lord's Day, *Saturday* was an usual Season whereon many Churches solemnized their Religious Services. As for those other Times, in which they publickly assembled for the Performance of Divine Worship, they will fall under the two General Heads of *Times of Fasting* and *Times of Feasting*, of which in the following Chapters.

C H A P. - VIII.

§ Of the Primitive Fasts, two-fold, Occasional and Fix'd. Of Occasional Fasts, what they were, and by whom appointed. § 2. Of fixt Fasts, two-fold, Weekly and Annual: Wednesdays and Fridays weekly Fasts; till what Time of the Day observed, and why observed. § 3. One necessary Annual Fast; viz. Lent. Why they fasted at Lent, and how long it lasted. § 4. Of the Manner of their Fasts, Three Sorts of Fasts, viz. Statio, Jejunium, and Superpositio. What those several Kinds were, and at what Times observed.

§ 1. **I**N this Chapter I shall make an Enquiry into the Primitive Fasts, which may be considered in a two-fold respect, either as Occasional, or Fixt.

Occasional Fasts were such, as were not determined by any constant fixed Period of Time, but observed on extraordinary and unusual Seasons, according as the Variety and Necessity of their Circumstances did require them. Thus in Times of great and imminent Danger either of Church or State, when by their Sins they had kindled God's Wrath and Fury against them, that they might divert his Vengeance, and appease his offended Majesty, they appointed set Days and Times for the Abasing of themselves before

before the Lord, for the seeking of his Face by Praying and Fasting, abstaining from the Food of their Bodies, and practising all external Acts of Humiliation, as so many Indications of the internal Contrition of their Hearts and Souls. So *Cyprian* in the Time of a sharp Persecution ad-

vised his Flock ^a *To seek to appease and pacifie the Lord, not only by Prayers, but by Fastings, and by Tears, and by all Kind of Intreaties.* And when the same Father foresaw an approaching Persecution, he writ to *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome, ^b *That since God was pleased in his Providence to warn them of an approaching Fight and Tryal, they ought with their whole Flocks diligently to fast and watch, and pray, to give themselves to continual Groans, and frequent Prayers; for those are our Spiritual Arms, that make us firmly to stand and persevere.*

Tertullian jeers the Heathens, ^c *That in Times of Danger or great Necessity, after they had*

^a Ad placandum atque exorandum Dominum, non voce solâ, sed & jejuniis, & lacrymis, & omni genere deprecationis ingemiscamus. *Epist.* 8 § 1. p. 22.

Persecution, he writ

^b Quoniam providentiâ Domini monentis instruimur --- appropinquare jam certaminis & agonis nostri diem, jejuniis, vigiliis, orationibus insistere, cum omni plebe non desinamus, incumbamus gemitibus assiduis & deprecationibus crebris, hæc sunt enim nobis arma cœlestia; quæ stare & perseverare fortiter faciunt. *Epist.* 57. § 3. p. 159.

^c Denique cum ab imbribus æstiva, hyberna suspendunt, & annus in cura est, vos quidem quotidie pasti, statimque voluptuosisly

pranfuri, balneis & cauponis & lupanaribus operati, Aquilicia Jovi immolatis, Nudipedalia populo denunciatis, Cœlum apud Capitolium quæritis, nubila de laquearibus expectatis, averfi ab ipfo & Deo & Cœlo. Nos vero jejuniis aridi, & omni continentia aspersi ab omni vitæ fruge dilati, in sacco & cinere voluntantes, invidia Cœlum tundimus, Deum tangimus, & cum misericordiam extorferimus, Jupiter honoratur. *Apolog. cap. 40. P. 711.*

voluptuously and sensually glutted themselves, they then run to the Capitol, and with all outward Signs of Humility, deprecated God's Judgments, and implored his Mercy, whilst in the mean time they were Enemies unto him: But, says he, We on such Emergencies and Occasions abstain from all Things, give our selves wholly to fasting, roll our selves in Sackcloth and Ashes; and thus incline God

as it were to repent, to have Mercy and Compassion upon us; for by this Way God is honoured.

These occasional Fasts were appointed by the Bishops of every Church, as they saw fit and necessary. So writes

^a *Episcopi universæ Plebi mandare jejunia asolent---ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiasticæ causa. De Jejun. c. 13.*

Tertullian, a The Bishops art wont to ordain Fasts for their Churches, according as the Circumstances of the Churches require.

§ 2. The next Sort of Fasts were set or fixed ones, that is, such as were always observed at the same Time and Season; and these again were two fold, either Weekly or Annual. First, Weekly. These were kept every *Wednesday* and *Friday*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates

lates that ^a they fasted on every Wednesday and Friday. These Fasts were commonly called Stations, in Allusion to the Military Stations, or the Soldiers standing, when on the Guard. Thus Tertullian mentions ^b Their Stationary Days. And writes that ^c Wednesdays and Fridays were Stations. On these Stationary Days their Fasts ended ^d at three a Clock in the Afternoon; whence they are called by Tertullian, ^e The half Fasts of Stations. Though some on Fridays lengthened out their Fasts ^f till Evening.

^a Τῆς ἡμέρας — τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τῆς πέμπτης. Strom. lib. 7. p. 534.

^b Stationum dies. De Orat. p. 661.

^c Stationibus quartam & sextam Sabbati dicamus. De Jejunio, p. 651.

^d Non ultra nonam detinendum. Tertul. de Jejun. p. 648.

^e Stationum Semijejunia. Ibid. p. 650.

^f Jejunium facimus. Victor. Petar. apud D. Cave, p. 103.

Why they fasted on Wednesday rather than on any other Day of the Week, I cannot find; but on Friday they chose to fast ^g because Christ was crucified thereon.

^g Ob Passionem Domini. Victor. Petar. ubi antea.

§ 3. The next Sort of fixed Fasts is such as are annual, of which Kind they had but one, viz. Lent. And indeed besides this, they had no other necessary fixed Fast. neither Weekly nor Yearly; the Faithful were not strictly obliged to the Observation of any other, as will be evident from what follows.

It is true, they fasted *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays*, but this was *ex Arbitrio*, of their own free Will and Choice, not *ex Imperio*, of Command or Necessity. For when the *Montanists*, began to impose as a Duty other stin-
 ted Fasts, they were for so doing branded as
 Hereticks, ^a *Who saith*

ἂ Τίς ἔστιν ἔτι ὁ πρὸς
 σορᾶτος διδασκαλῆς; τὰ
 ἔργα αὐτῆ καὶ διδασκαλία
 δείκνυσιν, ἔτι ἔστιν ὁ δι-
 δάξας λύσεις γάμων, ὁ νη-
 σεύει νόμοθετήσας. Apud
 Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18. p.
 184.

*Apollonius concerning
 Montanus, is this new
 Doctor? His Works and
 Doctrin evidently declare
 him, this is he that teaches
 the Dissolution of Mar-
 riages, and prescribes Fasts.*

And for the same Practice they were ac-
 cused by the Ortho-
 dox, for ^b *Galaticising,*

b Galatis nos quoque
 percuti aiunt Observato-
 res dierum, & mensium
 & annorum. *Tertul. de
 jejun. p. 645.*

*or committing the Error
 of the Galatians in Ob-
 serving Days, and Months,
 and Years.*

But that the Ancients esteemed *Lent* to be
 the only necessary fixed Fast, and any other,
 even the stationary Days to be indifferent,
 will appear most evidently from this ensuing
 Passage of *Tertullian*. *Tertullian* being now a
Montanist, and defending their prescribed
 Fasts against the Orthodox, thus jeeringly
 exposes the Opinions of his Adversaries with
 respect to the necessary determined Times of
 Fasting. ^c *Forsooth, saith*

c Certè in evangelio
 illos dies jejuniis deter-
 minatos putant, in qui-
 bus ablatus est sponfus:

*he, they think that accor-
 ding to the Gospel, those
 Days are to be prescribed
 Fasts,*

Fasts, wherein the Bridegroom was taken away, (i. e. Lent), and those to be the only Fasts of Christians, the Legal and Prophetical Fasts being abolished; and that for others we may indifferently fast, according to our Will, not out of Necessity or Command, but according to our Circumstances and Conditions, and that so the Apostles observed, commanding no other fixed and common Fasts besides this; no, not the Stationary Days, which indeed they keep on Wednesdays, and Fridays, and do all observe, but yet not in Obedience to any Command, or to the End of the Day, but Prayers are concluded at three a Clock in the Afternoon, according to the Example of Peter in the Acts.

& hos esse jam solos legitimos jejuniorum Christianorum abolitis legalibus, & propheticis vetustatibus, ———
Itaque de cætero indifferenter jejunandum ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinæ pro temporibus & causis uniuscujusque: Sic & Apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum & in commune omnibus obendorum jejuniorum: proinde nec stationum, quæ & ipsæ suos quidem dies habeant quartæ feriæ & sextæ, passim tamen currunt, neque sub lege præcepti neque ultra supremam diei, quando & orationes fere hora nona concludat de Petri exemplo quòd actis refertur. *De Jejunio, p. 645.*

So that from hence it is evident, That the Orthodox apprehended themselves to be free from the necessary Observation of the Stationary Fasts, and to be only strictly obliged to fast on those Days, wherein the Bridegroom was taken away, or on Lent; from which Periphra-

sis of *Lent* we may collect both the Reason and the Duration thereof.

First, the Reason thereof, or the Ground on which they founded the Necessity of this Fast, and that was on that Saying of Christ, in *Matth. 9. 15.* *The Days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them.* This they imagined to be an Injunction of Christ to all his Followers, to fast at that Time, when the Bridegroom should be taken away. The Bridegroom they esteemed to be Christ, the Time when he was taken away, his Crucifixion, Death and continuing under the Power of Death to the Instant of his Resurrection, during which Time they thought themselves by the forementioned Command obliged to fast.

Secondly, From hence we may observe the Duration of this Fast, or how long it was continued, and that was, from the Time that Christ the Bridegroom was taken away, to the Time that he was restored again, that is, from his Passion to his Resurrection. Now according to their various Computations of the Beginning and End of Christ's being taken away, so was the Duration of their Fast; some might reckon from Christ's Agony in the Garden, others from his being betrayed by *Judas*. Some again from his being fastned to the Cross, and others from his being actually dead; and so according to these Diversities of Computations were their Fasts either lengthened

or shortned. This we may probably suppose to be the Occasion of the different Observations of this Fast with respect to its Duration, as we find it in *Irenæus*,

^a Some, says he, esteem, that they must fast but one Day, others two, others more, and some allow to this Fast forty Hours. Which last Space of Time seems to have been their general and

^a Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οἰοῦνται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν ἀστῆς νηστῆσαι, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν συμμετρησῆαι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. P. 393.

common Allowance : Whence this Fast was afterwards called *τεσσαρακοστή*, or, *Quadragesima*, that is, not a Fast of Forty Days, in Imitation of Christ's Fasting in the Wilderness, but a Fast of Forty Hours, beginning at *Friday* Twelve a Clock, about which time Christ was dying, and ending *Sunday* Morning, when Christ arose. So that from Twelve a Clock *Good-Friday*, as we call it, when Christ the Bridegroom was taken away, they fasted, in obedience to his Command, as they imagined, till *Sunday* Morning, when he was found again by his Resurrection, at which Time they forgot their Sorrow and Mourning, concluded their Fast, and began the joyful Festival of *Easter*, or of Christ's Resurrection.

§ 4. As for the Manner of their Fasts, we may observe them to be of three Sorts, *viz.* *Statio*, *Jejunium*, and *Superpositio*; *Station*, *Fasts*, and *Superposition*; all which three are at once

a Usque ad horam nonam jejunamus, usq; ad vesperam, aut superpositio usque in alteram diem fiat. *De Fabric. Mux. apud D. Cave, p. 103.*

mentioned by *Victorinus Petavionensis*, ^a *We fast,* says he, *till the ninth Hour, or till Evening, or there is a Superposition till the next Morning.*

I. There was the Fast of Stations, which ended at Three a Clock in the Afternoon, or at the Ninth Hour as it is called in the fore-cited Passage of *Victorinus Petavionensis*. This Sort of Fasting was used on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, which Days, as we have shewn before, were called Stationary Days, and on them Divine Services were ended at Three a Clock in the Afternoon, for which Reason *Montanizing Tertullian* ^b terms

b Stationum semijejuna. *De Jej. p. 650.*

them, *The Half Fasts of Stations.*

II. The next Sort was strictly called *Jejunium*, or a *Fast*; which according to the fore-cited Place of *Victorinus Petavionensis*, lasted till Evening: Of this Sort, it is probable, their Occasional Fasts were, as *Tertullian*

c Denique cum ab imbribus æstiva, &c—Nos jejuniis aridi. & omni continentia aspersi.—Invidiâ Cœlum tundimus. *Alog. cap. 40. p. 711.*

writes, ^c *In Times of Necessity and Danger we dry up our selves with Fasting, abstain from all Meat, roll our selves in Dust and Ashes, and by these means cause God to have Mercy*

upon us. Though it is also likely, that in Times of more eminent Danger they extended these Fasts unto that of *Superposition*.

The Second Sort of Fasts was observed by some on *Fridays*, who turned the Station into a Fast, as *Victorinus Petavionensis* writes, ^a On Friday, in Commemoration of the Lord's Passion, I either keep a Station, or observe a Fast.

^a Ob Passionem Domini Jesu Christi aut Stationem do, aut jejunium facimus. *De Fabric. Mund.* apud D. Dave, p. 103.

III. The last Sort of Fasts was called *Superposition*, or, as by the Greeks, ὑπερθεσις, which lasted till the Morning of the next Day according to that of *Victorinus Petavionensis*, ^b Let Superposition be done till the next Day.

^b Superpositio usque in alterum diem fiat. *De Fabric. Mundi* apud D. Cave, p. 103.

As for the Times when this Fast was observed, I find that in some of the Western Churches they so kept every *Saturday* throughout the Year, fasting thereon till Midnight, or till the Beginning of *Sunday Morning*, as *Victorinus Petavionensis* says, ^c Let Superposition be done on Saturday, lest we should seem to observe the Jewish Sabbath. But not only in these, but in other Churches also, they so fasted on *Easter-Eve*, or on the *Saturday* preceeding that *Sunday*, which being *Lent*, was so necessary and usual, that *Tertullian* enumerating those particular Acts of Divine Worship, that a Christian

^c Parasceve superpositio fiat, ne quod cum Judæis Sabbatum observare videamur. *Ibid.* p. 103.

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Christian Woman could not freely perform, if married to a Pagan Husband, reckons this

^aQuis Solemnibus Pas-
chæ abnoctantem securus
fustinebit. *Ad Uxor. lib.*
2. p. 429.

as one, ^a *That on Easter
Eve she could not stay up,
and watch that Night:*
But to please her Hus-
band, must be diverted

from this necessary Fast, that usher'd in the
Glorious Festival of *Easter*, which brings me
in the next Place to enquire into this, and
their other Feasts, of which in the ensuing
Chapter.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

§ 1. *Of the Primitive Feasts, two-fold, Occasional, and Fix'd.* § 2. *Of Easter.* § 3. *Of Whitsunday.* § 4. *Of Christmas: On what Day of the Year Christ was born.* § 5. *Of Epiphany.* § 6. *Besides these no other Feasts in Commemoration of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or the Apostles. The Apostles not called Saints in the Primitive Writings.* § 7. *Festivals in Commemoration of the Martyrs: Observed on the Annual Day of their Martyrdom. Persons appointed to take an exact Account of the Day of their Decease.* § 8. *Why those Festivals were observed. The Day of the Martyrs Death termed their Birth Days.* § 9. *The Place where these Festivals were solemnized: Of the Burying Place of the Ancients.* § 10. *The Manner of the Observation of these Festivals.*

§ 1. **A**S the Primitive Fasts were two-fold, so likewise were their Feasts either Occasional, or Fixed. As for those that were Occasional, I shall pass them over, because not controverted, and come immediately to enquire into their Fixed Feasts, which, as their Fasts, were also two-fold, either Weekly or Annual. Of their Weekly Feasts, which were *Sundays*, and in the Oriental Churches *Saturdays*, I have already discoursed, so that there only remains an Enquiry into their Annual

Annual Feasts, which, besides the Martyrs Festivals, were two, *viz.* *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, or at most Three, *viz.* *Easter*, *Whitsunday*, and *Christmas*, of each of which in their Order.

§ 2. I begin with *Easter*, as being the antientest Feast of all, concerning which *Tertulian* writes, ^a *We celebrate Easter in the first Month every Year.* *Cyprian* mentions their ^b

^a *Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo. De Jesun. p. 651.*

^b *Solemnia Paschæ, Epist. 53. § 2. p. 131.*

^c *Τὸ πᾶσχα. Contra Celsum, lib. 8. p. 392.*

Easter Solemnities. And *Origen* reckons ^c *Easter* as one of the four Festivals observed in his

Time. But that they solemnized *Easter*, is a Thing so well known, that it will be unnecessary to prove it, especially since every one knows, or at least might easily know, those sharp Contests and Debates that were in the Church about the Time when it should be kept; the whole Affair hath been at large related by several Hands in our own Tongue; amongst others by the most learned *Dr. Cave*, in his *Apostolici*, in the Life of *Irenæus*, to which I refer the Curious, contenting my self with giving a very brief Account of the Controversie, which was this: The Churches of the *Lesser Asia* kept their *Easter* the same Day that the *Jews* kept their *Passover*, on what Day of the Week soever it happen'd. The Church of *Rome*, with other Churches, kept it the Lord's Day after. This Diversity of Customs created

created a violent Disorder and Confusion amongst the Christians; for the Church of *Rome* would impose their Usages on the Churches of the *Lesser Asia*, unto which the latter peremptorily refused to submit. To appease these Heats and Storms, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna* came to *Rome* to confer with *Anicetus* Bishop of that Church about it, who agreed, that every Church should be left to follow its own Custom, as accordingly they were to the Times of Pope *Victor*, who revived this Controversie, and was so turbulent and imperious, as that he excommunicated the *Asiatics*, for refusing to comply with the Church of *Rome* in this Matter, condemning them as Hereticks, loading them with the long and frightful Name of *Tessareskaidekatitæ*, or, *Quartodecimani*, so called because they kept their *Easter Quarta Decima Luna*, upon the Fourteenth Day after the Appearance of the Moon, or at the Full Moon, on what Day soever it happened. But however the *Asiatics* stood their Ground, and still maintained their old Custom, till the Council of *Nice*, Anno 325, by their Authority decided this Controversie, decreeing, that throughout the whole Christian World, *Easter* should be observed not on the Day on which the Jewish Passover fell, but on the Lord's Day ensuing, as it was ever after observed and followed.

§ 3. The next Feast that was observed was *Whitsunday*, or *Pentecost* in Commemoration of the Holy Ghost's Descent on the Apostles, which

which also was very ancient, being mentioned several Times by ^a *Tertullian*; and reckon'd by

^a *De Coron. Milit.* p. 340. *De Baptism.* p. 604. & *De Idololatria*, p. 623.

^b Τα περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν κυριακῶν, ἢ παρασκευῶν, ἢ τῆς πάχας ἢ τῶν πεντηκοστῆς δι' ἡμερῶν γινόμενα *Contra Celsum.* lib. 8. p. 392.

Origen for one of the ^b *four Festivals* observed in his Time, the other Three being *Sundays, Saturdays and Easter.*

§ 4. As for *Christmas*, or the Time of *Christ's Nativity*, there is a Passage in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which seems to intimate, that it was then observed as a Festival: For speaking of the Time when *Christ* was born, he says, that those who had curiously search'd into it, affixed it to the 25th Day of the Month *Pachon*. But the *Basilidian Hereticks* held otherwise,

^c Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τῆς βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν εορτάζουσι. *Strom.* lib. 1. p. 249.

^c *who also observed as a Feast, the Day of Christ's Baptism.* From which Words *who also*, if that be the Meaning of the

Words δὲ—καὶ, one might be apt to infer, that the Meaning of *Clemens Alexandrinus* was, that the *Basilidians* not only feasted at the Time of *Christ's Nativity*, but also at the Time of his *Baptism*. But whether this Interpretation will hold, I leave to the Learned Reader to determin. On the contrary, there are other Considerations, which more strongly insinuate, that this Festival was not so early solemnized, as that when *Origen* reckons up the

Feasts

Feasts observed in his Age,

he mentions not one Syllable of *Christmas* ^a; and it seems improbable that they should celebrate Christ's Nati-

vity, when they disagreed about the Month and Day when Christ was born.

Clemens Alexandrinus reckons ^b from the Birth of Christ to the Death of Commodus, exactly one hundred ninety four Years, one Month, and thirteen Days; which

Years must be computed according to the *Nabonassar*, or *Egyptian* Account, who varied from this in our Year, in that they had only 365 Days in a Year, never taking notice of the odd Hours, or Quadrant of a Day, that every fourth Year makes a whole Day, and are accordingly by us then added to the Month of *February*, which maketh the *Bissextile* or *Leap-year*. So that though the *Egyptians* always begun their Year with the first Day of the Month *Thoth*, yet making no Account of the Annual odd Hours, that Month wandereth throughout the whole Year: And whereas now the first Day of that Month is the first Day of our *March*, about seven Hundred Years hence, it will be the first of *September*; and after seven Hundred Years more, or near thereabouts, it will come to the first of *March* again. Wherefore that we may reduce unto

our

^a κλειακῶν — παρὰ κλειῶν — πύρα — πεντήκοστis. Contra Celsum. lib. 8. p. 392.

^b Γίνονται ἐν ἀφ' ἧς ὁ Κύριος ἐγεννήθη ἕως Κομόδου τελειῆς τὰ πάντα ἑτηέκατὸν ἑννεήκοντα τέσσαρα, μὴν εἰς, ἡμέραι 13. Stromat. lib. 1. p. 249.

our Style this Calculation of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, we must deduce, for those odd Hours which are not accounted, one Month and Eighteen Days, and so reckoning the Birth of Christ from the Death of *Commodus*, which happened on the first Day of *January*, to be One Hundred Ninety Four Years, wanting five or six Days, it will appear that Christ was born on the 25th or 26th of the Month of *December*, according to the *Julian Account*, which is the Epoch we follow.

But as the same Father farther writes in the same Place, ^a *There were*

^a Ἐισὶ δὲ οἱ περιεργότερον τῆ γενέσει τῆ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔ μόνον τὸ ἔσθ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προσθέντος, ἐν φασιν ——— ἐν πεμτῆ Πάχον καὶ εἰκάδι. Ibid p. 249.

some, who more curiously searching after the Year and Day of Christ's Nativity, affixed the latter to the 25th of the Month Pachon. Now in that Year in which Christ

was born, the Month *Pachon* commenced the twentieth Day of *April* : So that according to this Computation Christ was born the 16th Day of *May*. Nay, there were yet some other ingenious Men, as the same Father continues to write, ^b *that*

^b Καὶ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν φασὶ φαρμουθὶ γεννηθῆναι καὶ ἢ κε. Ibid p. 249.

assigned Christ's Nativity to the 24th or 25th of the Month Pharmuthi, which answers to our

16th or 17th of *April* : So that there were Diversities of Opinion concerning the Time of Christ's Birth, which makes it very probable, that there was then no particular Feast observed

observed in Commemoration of that glorious and transcendant Mercy.

§ 5. There is yet another Feast called by us *Epiphany*, wherein there is a Commemoration of Christ's Baptism, which I find to have been peculiarly solemnized by the *Basilidian* Hereticks. For thus *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports it to be a particular Custom of theirs, ^a to keep as a Festival the Day of Christ's Baptism. The Day on which Christ was baptized, ^b they said to be the fifteenth of the Month Tyby, in the fifteenth Year of the Reign of the Emperor Tiberius, which answers to our One and Thirtieth of December; or as others imagin'd it, ^c On the Eleventh of the Month Tyby, which was the seven and twentieth of our December.

^a Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τῆς βαπτίσματι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσιν, Strom. lib. 1. p. 249.

^b Φασὶ δὲ εἶναι τὸ πεντακαιδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν πεντεκαιδέκατῳ ἔτη βίβλῳ. Ibid. p. 249.

^c Τινὲς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν δεκάτῳ ἔτη αὐτοῦ βίβλῳ. Ibid.

§ 6. Besides these forementioned Festivals, there were none others observed to the Honour of the Blessed Jesus, nor of the Virgin Mary, nor of the Holy Apostles and Evangelists; and which may be a little observable, it is very seldom, if ever, that the Ancients give the Title of Saints to those Holy Persons,

^a A Petro ordinatum. *Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. p. 78.*

^b Tunc Paulus, &c. *Idem. Scorpiac. advers. Gnostic. p. 615.*

^c Ab Johanne conlocatum. *Idem de Præscript advers. Hæret. p. 78.*

sons, but singly stile them, ^a Peter, ^b Paul, ^c John, &c. not St. Peter, St. Paul, or St. John.

§ 7. But now there was another Sort of Festivals, which every Church celebrated in the Commemoration of its own Martyrs, which was, on the Anniversary Day of their Martyrdoms: They assembled together, where they recited the Martyrs glorious Actions, exhorted to an Imitation of them, and blessed

^d Martyrum Passionis & dies anniversariâ commemoratione celebramus. *Epist. 34. § 3. p. 80.*

^e Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus. *De Coron. Milit. p. 339.*

God for them. So says Cyprian, ^d *The Passions of the Martyrs we celebrate with an anniversary Commemoration.* And so writes Tertullian, ^e *Upon the Annual Day of the Martyrs Sufferings, we offer Thanks to God for them.* When this

Practice began, cannot certainly be determined; it is first found-mentioned in the Letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, touching the Death of Polycarp, wherein they write, ^f

^f Ἡμεῖς ἀνελόμενοι τὰ πρῶτα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ ὀστέων αὐτοῦ

That they had gathered up his martyr'd Bones and

and buried them in a decent Place, where, say they, if possible, we will meet to celebrate with Joy and Gladness the Birthday of his Martyrdom.

χρυσίον ὅσα ἑαυτῶν, ἀπεδέ-
μεθα ὅπως καὶ ἀκούσαντων ἡμῶν,
ἐνταῦθα ὡς δυνατόν ἡμῶν συ-
ναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει
καὶ χαρᾷ, παρέξει ὁ Κύριος
ὁππότελεῖν τὴν ἑορτήν μαρτυρίας
αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, A-
pud Euseb. lib. 4. cap.
15. p. 135.

Hence that they might be certain of the very Day of the Martyrs Sufferings, there were some appointed to take an exact Account of them, and faithfully to register them, that so there might be no Mistake. Thus Cyprian writ from his Exile to the Clergy of his Church,

^a That they should take special Care, exactly to note down the very Day of the Martyrdom of the Faithful, that so they might be commemorated amongst the Memories of the Martyrs, and to signify to him the precise Time of their Departure to a glorious Immortality, that so he might also celebrate it.

^a Dies eorum, quibus excedunt, annotare, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias Martyrum celebrare possimus—Significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeunt, & celebrentur his à nobis oblationes & Sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum. Epist. 37. § 2. p. 87, 88.

§ 8. The Reasons for which they observed these Festivals, we find in the forementioned Letter of the Church of Smyrna, wherein they write ^b That they would meet to celebrate with Joy and Gladness the Mar-

^b Ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν ἑορτήν μαρ-
τυρίας αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον,
tyrdom

εις τ̄ ἡμ̄σ̄ περιθληκότων
μνήμην, ἢ ἡμ̄σ̄ μελλόντων
ἀσκησιν τ̄ ἢ ἐτοιμωσίαν. A-
pud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15.
P. 135.

*tyrdom of Polycarp, for
the Commemoration of
those who had already
gloriously striven, and for
the Confirmation and Pre-
paration of others by their*

Examples. So that their Design was two-fold, to animate and encourage others to follow the glorious Examples of those heroick Martyrs, who were commemorated before their Eyes, and to declare the Honour and Veneration, that they had for those invincible Champions of Jesus Christ, who by their Martyrdoms were now freed from all their Miseries and Torments, and translated to a blessed and glorious Immortality, in an happy manner experiencing the Truth of that Scripture in *Ecclesiastes 7. 1.* That the Day of a Man's Death is better than the Day of his Birth. Whence the Time of the Martyrs Deaths was usually termed their Birth-Day, because then was a Period of all their Grief and Trouble, and a Beginning of their everlasting Bliss and Felicity. Thus in the forementioned Letter of the Church of *Smyna* concerning the Death

^a Τῶ μαρτυρίῳ αὐτῶ
ἡμέραν γένεθλιον. Apud
Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p.
135.

of Polycarp, they write,
^a That they would meet to
celebrate with Joy and
Gladness the Birth-day of
his Martyrdom. And so
Tertullian says, that ^b
they annually commemora-
ted the Birth-days of the
Martyrs; that is, their
Deathdays;

^b Oblationes pro de-
functis, pro natalitiis an-
nuâ die facimus. De Cor.
Milit. p. 339.

Deathdays; as he writes in another Place concerning *St. Paul*, ^a *That he was born at Rome, when he suffered Martyrdom there.*

^a Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur natiuitatem, cum illic Martyrii renascitur generositate. *Scorpiac. adv. Gnostic.* p. 615.

§ 9. As for the Place where these anniversary Solemnities were performed, it was at the Tombs of the Martyrs, who were usually buried with the rest of the Faithful, in a distinct Place from the Heathens, it being their Custom to interr the Christians by themselves, separate from the Pagans; accounting it an hainous Crime, if possibly it could be prevented, to mingle their Sacred Ashes with the defiled ones of their persecuting and idolatrous Neighbours. Wherefore in the Ratification of the Deposition of *Martialis* Bishop of *Astorga* by an *African* Synod held *Anno* 258, this was one of the Articles alledg'd against him, ^b *That he had buried his Sons after the Pagan Manner, in Gentile Sepulchres, amongst Men of another Faith.* And for this

^b Filios — exterarum gentium more apud profana Sepulchra depositos, & alienigenis consepultos. *Apud Cyprian. Epist.* 68. § 7. p. 202.

Reason it was, that the surviving Christians would run upon ten thousand Hazards, to collect the scattered Members of the Dead Martyrs, and decently to inter them in the common Repository of the Faithful. As when *Emilian* the barbarous Prefect of *Egypt*, forbid any, under severe Penalties, to entomb the dead Bodies of the murdered Saints, and se-

duloufully watched if any would dare to do it.

^a Τὰς ἡὺ σωμαίων πε-
εισολὰς ἡὺ τελείων ἡ μα-
χερίων ἐκ ἀκινδύων ἐκλε-
λέν. Dionysf. Alexand.
apud Euseb. lib. 7. c. 11.
p. 61.

Freedom, whereby *Asturias* a Roman Sena-
tor rendred himself renowned, in that when

^b Παρῶν τινικᾶδε τε-
λειμίνῳ τῷ μάξιμῳ, ἡ
ῶμῶν ὑποδείξ ὅτι λαμπρᾶς
ἡ πολυτελεῖς ἐδῆτ' ἄρας
ὁ σκῆν' ὅπιφέρεται, περι-
σείλας ἡ ἐν μάλα πλοσίως
τῆ πρῶστικῆσιν ταῖσιν παρα-
δίδωσι. Euseb. lib. 7. cap.
16. p. 264.

Vienna in France to the Churches of *Asia*,
concerning their sore and grievous Persecuti-
ons, we find them passionately complaining
of the inhumane Cruelty of their Persecutors,

^c Τὰ ἡ χερδ' ἡμᾶς ἐν με-
γάλῳ χερδῆσῆκει πένθει,
διὰ τὸ μὴ δύῶσθαι τὰ σῶ-
μαλα χερῦσαι τῆ γῆ, ἡτε
γῶ ἡ ἡσῶβεβάλλετο ἡμῶν
πρῶς τῆτο, ἡτε ἀργῦεια
ἐπείδειν, ἡτε λιτανεία ἐδυ-
σῶποι, παντὶ ἡ τῶσῳ παρ
ετήσεν ὡς μέγα π χερδα-
τῆσῆς, εἰ μὴ τῶσῆσιν ταῖσιν.
Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap.
1. p. 169.

rejoyced, that they had gotten the most pre-
cious

Yet *Eusebius* a Deacon
of *Alexandria* ^a resolutely
ventured upon it ; And
it is applauded by the
Historian as an Act of
Religious Boldness and

^b he saw the Martyrdom
of *Marinus* at *Cæsarea*,
he took his martyred Bo-
dy, cloathed it with a pre-
cious Garment, bore it a-
way on his own Shoulders,
and magnificently and de-
cently interr'd it. And
in a Letter from the
Christians of *Lyons* and

the Churches of *Asia*,
concerning their sore and grievous Persecuti-
ons, we find them passionately complaining
of the inhumane Cruelty of their Persecutors,
^c that neither Prayers nor
Tears, neither Gold nor
Silver, could prevail with
them, to permit them to
collect the dead Bodies of
their murdered Brethren,
and decently to interr
them. As on the other
hand, the Faithful or
the Church of *Smyrna*

cious Bones of Polycarp, which they buried ^a ὅπερ καὶ ἀκόλουθον ὡς, *ubi decedebat, where they ought, as* *Valesius* renders it; that is, as seems most probable, at the common Burying Place of the Christians.

^a Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 135.

Now it was at these Tombs and Sepulchres that the Memories of the Martyrs were solemnized. Thus in the forecited Letter of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, they write, that ^b

in that Place where they had interr'd the Bones of Polycarp, they would by the Blessing of God assemble together, and celebrate his Martyrdom; which was a Practice so usual

^b Ἐνθα ὡς διωγμάτων ἡμῶν συναρομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, καὶ χαρῆ, παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τιμῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῆς ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, Apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 135.

and constant, as that the Heathens observed it: So that as on the one hand, under the Persecution of *Valerian, Emilian* the Prefect of *Egypt* threatned *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and his Fellow-Sufferers, that for their Obstinacy and Ingratitude, as he termed it, he would send them into *Lybia*, to a desert Place called *Cephro*, ^c *where they should*

^c Οὐδαμῶς ἢ ἐξέραι ἢ σιωδὸς ποιείδαι, ἢ εἰς τὰ καλέμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσέναι. Dion. Alex. apud Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 11. p. 258.

not meet together, or go to those Places called Cemeteryes. That is, the Places where the Martyrs and the rest of the Faithful were buried: so on the other hand

when Galienus Valerian's Son restored Peace

to the Churches, he published an exprefs E-
dict ^a for returning to

*the Christians the Ceme-
teries that were taken
from them.*

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§ 10. If in the next Place it shall be enqui-
red, how they observed these Festival Days. I
answer, that they did not, according to the
Fashion of the Heathens, spend them in Riot
and Debauchery, in bacchanalian Revellings
and Luxury, but in Religious Exercises and

*Employments, in Pray-
ers and Devotions. b*
*He, saith Origen, truly
keeps a Festival, who does
what he ought to do, al-
ways praying, and by his
Prayers offering up un-
bloody Sacrifices unto God.*

The Solemnities of these Feast Days were
not Drunkenness and Gluttony, but Acts of
Piety and Charity. Now they publickly as-
sembled, as the Church of Smyrna writes in her
Letter concerning the Death of Polycarp, ^c to

*commemorate the Mar-
tyrs Courage and Tri-
umphs, and to exhort and
prepare others to the same
glorious and renowned
Actions. Or as Ter-
tullian expresses it, d*
now they offered Oblations.

As

^d Oblationes facimus,
De Coron. Milit. p. 339.

As Cyprian, ^a They offered
Oblations and Sacrifices ;
that is, they offered
Thanks and Praise to

^a Celebrantur hic à no-
his oblationes & Sacrifi-
cia. *Epist.* 37. § 2. p. 88.

God, that had given Grace to those Mar-
tyrs, to seal his Truths with their Blood,
and in evidence of their Gratitude distri-
buted of their Substance to the Poor and
Indigent.

C H A P. X.

§ 1. *Of the Rites and Ceremonies : The Difference between them.* § 2. *Of Ceremonies : Many used by the Ancients, which through various Ways crept into the Church.* § 3. *Of Rites : Every Church followed its own Rites without imposing them on any other.* § 4. *The Members of every Church obliged to observe the Rites of that Church where they lived.* § 5. *The Conclusion of this Enquiry, with an earnest Perswasion to Peace, Unity and Moderation.*

§ 1. **H**AVING in the precedent Chapters enquired into the several Parts of Divine Worship, and the Circumstances thereof, I now come to close up all with a brief Appendix concerning Rites and Ceremonies, by which I mean two different Things: By Rites, I understand such Actions as have an inseparable Relation to the Circumstances or Manner of Worship: As for Instance. The Sacrament was to be received in one manner or other, but whether from the Bishop or Deacon, that was the Rite. *Lent* was to be observed a certain Space of Time, but whether One Day, or Two Days, or Three Days, that was the Rite thereof. So that Rites are necessary Concomitants of the Circumstances of Divine Worship, Appendages to them; or, if you rather please, you may call them Circumstances themselves.

By Ceremonies, I mean such Actions as have no regard either to the Manner or Circumstances of Divine Worship, but the Acts thereof may be performed without them; as for Instance, in some Churches they gave to Persons ^a when they were baptized, Milk and Honey.

And, ^b Before they prayed, they washed their Hands. Now both these Actions I call Ceremonies, because they were

^a Suscepti lactis & mellis concordiam prægustamus. Tertul. de Coron. Milit. p. 337.

^b Manibus ablutis— Orationem obire. Idem De Oratione, p. 659.

not necessary to the Discharge of those Acts of Divine Worship, unto which they were affix'd; but those Acts might be perform'd without them; as Baptism might be entirely administred without the Ceremony of giving Milk and Honey, and Prayers might be presented without washing of Hands.

Now having explained what I intend by those two Terms of Rites and Ceremonies, let us in the next Place consider the Practice of the Primitive Church with reference thereunto. And first for Ceremonies.

§ 2. It is apparent that there were many of that Kind crept into the Church, of which we may say, that from the Beginning they were not so: For when ^c the Quire of the Apostles was dead, till which Time, as Hegeffippus writes, the Church remained a pure and unspotted Virgin; then the

^c Ὡς δ' ἰερῶς τῷ ἁποστόλων χορῷ διαφασεν εἰληφεί τ' βίη τέλει — τῶν καὶ τῶ ἀδελφῶν πάσης τῶ ἀρχῆ ἐλάβανεν ἡ σύσις Apud Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 32. p. 104.

Church

Church was gradually spotted and corrupted, as in her Doctrine, so also in her Worship, an Infinity of Ceremonies by Degrees insensibly sliding in, very many of which were introduced

^a Suscepti lactis & mellis concordiam prægustamus, exq; ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadem abstinemus.

Tertul. de Coron. Milit. p. 337.

^b Manibus ablutis orationem obire adsignata oratione affidendi mos est quibusdam.

Idem de Orat. p. 659, 660.

within my limited Time, as ^a the Eating of Milk and Honey after Baptism, the abstaining from Baths the Week after,

^b the washing of their Hands before Prayer, their sitting after Prayer, and many other such like,

which through various

Ways and Means winded themselves into the Church; as some came in through Custom and Tradition; one eminent Man perhaps invented and practised a certain Action, which he used himself, as Judging it fit and proper to stir up his Devotion and Affection; others being led by his Example performed the same, and others again imitated them, and so one followed another, till at length the Action became a Tradition and Custom, after which Manner those Ceremonies were introduced,

^d Suscepti lactis & mellis concordiam prægustamus, exque ea die lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadem abstinemus--die Dominico nefas ducimus de geniculis adorare, eadem immunitate à die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus;

^c of tasting Milk and Honey after Baptism, of abstaining from the Baths

the whole ensuing Week, of not kneeling on the

Lord's Day, and the Space between Easter and Whit-

suntide, of the Signing of themselves with the Sign

of

of the Cross in all their Actions and Conversations, concerning which and the like, Tertullian writes, That there was no Law in Scripture for them, but that Tradition was their Author and Custom their Confirmer. Of which Custom we may say what Tertullian says of Custom in general, that ^a commonly Custom takes its Rise from Ignorance and Simplicity, which by Succession is corroborated into Use, and so vindicated against the Truth: But our Lord Christ hath called himself Truth, and not Custom; wherefore if Christ was always, and before all, then Truth was first and antientest; it is not so much Novelty as Verity that confutes Hereticks: Whatsoever is against the Truth is Heresie, although it be an old Custom.

Others again were introduced through a wrong Exposition or Misunderstanding of the Scripture; so were their Exorcisms before Baptism, and their Unctions after Baptism, as in their proper Places hath been already shewn.

Finally,

ad omnem progressum atq; promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum--- quæcunque nos conversatio exercet frontem crucis signaculo terimus. Harum & aliarum ejusmodi Disciplinarum si legem exoptules Scripturarum, nullam invenies, traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix. *Idem de Coron. Milit. p. 337, 340, 341.*

^a Ferè consuetudo initium ad aliquam ignorantiam vel simplicitate fortita in usum per successionem corroboratur, & ita adversus veritatem vindicatur: sed Dominus noster Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem cognominavit. Si semper Christus & prior omnibus æquè veritas sempiterna & antiqua res— Hæreses non tam novitas quam veritas revincit, quodcunque adversus veritatem sapit hoc erit Hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo. *De Virgin. Veland. p. 385.*

Finally, Others crept in through their Dwelling amongst the Pagans, who in their ordinary Conversations used an Infinity of Superstitions; and many of those Pagans, when they were converted to the saving Faith, christianiz'd some of their innocent former Ceremonies, as they esteemed them to be; either thinking them decent and proper to stir up their Devotion, or likely to gain over more Heathens who were offended at the Plainness and Nakedness of the Christian Worship of which

Sort were ^a *their Washing of Hands before Prayer, their Sitting after Prayer, and such like.* Concerning which Tertullian affirms, that they were practised by the Heathens.

^a Manibus ablutis orationem obire — ad signata oratione affidendi mos — gentilibus adæquant. *De Orat.* p. 659, 660.

So that by these and such like Methods it was, that so many Ceremonies imperceptibly slid into the antient Church, of some of which

Tertullian gives this severe Censure, ^b That they are deservedly to be condemned as vain, because they are done without the Authority of any Precept, either of our Lord, or of his Apostles; that they are not Religious, but Superstitious, affected and constrained, curious rather than rea-

² Quibus merito vanitas exprobranda est, siquidem sine ullius aut Dominici aut Apostolici præcepti auctoritate fiunt; hujusmodi enim non Religioni, sed Superstitioni deputantur, affectata & coacta & curiosi potius quam rationalis officii. Certè vel eo coercenda quòd gentilibus adæquent. *De Orat.* p. 659.

sonable, and to be abstained from because Heathenish.

§ 3. As for the Rites and Customs of the Primitive Church, these were indifferent and arbitrary; all Churches being left to their own Freedom and Liberty to follow their peculiar Customs and Usages, or to embrace those of others, if they pleased; from whence it is, that we find such a Variety of Methods in their Divine Services, many of which may be observed in the precedent Part of this Discourse; as some received the Lord's Supper at one Time; others at another; Some Churches received the Elements from the Hands of the Bishop, others from the Hands of the Deacons; some made a Collection before the Sacrament, others after; some kept *Lent* one Day, some two Days, and others exactly forty Hours; some celebrated *Easter* on the same Day with the Jewish Passover, other's the Lord's Day after; and so in many other Things one Church differed from another, as *Firmilian*

an writes, that ^a at Rome they did not observe the same Day of Easter, nor many other Customs which were practised at Jerusalem; and so in most Provinces many Rites were varied according to the Diversities of Names and Places.

1 Circa celebrandos dies Paschæ, & circa multa alia divinæ rei Sacramenta videat esse apud alios aliquas diversitates, nec observari illic omnia æqualiter, quæ Hierosolymis observantur, secundum quod in cæteris quoq; plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur. *Apud Cyp. Epist. 75. § 5. p. 237.*

So that every Church followed its own particular Customs, although different from those of its Neighbours, it being nothing necessary

to

to the Unity of the Church, to have an Uniformity of Rites ; for according to *Firmilian*,

^a Fidei & veritatis unanimitatem. *Apud Cypr. Epist. 75. § 2. p. 236.*

an, the Unity of the Church consisted in an Unanimity of Faith and Truth, not in an

Uniformity of Modes and Customs ; for on the contrary, the Diversity of them, as *Irenæus* speaks with reference to the Fast of

^b Ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νεσείας τῶν ὁμολογῶν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι. *Apud Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 236.*

Lent^b did commend and set forth the Unity of the Faith.

Hence every Church peaceably followed her own Customs, without obliging any other Churches to observe the same ; or being obliged by them to observe the Rites that they used ; yet still maintaining a loving Correspondence, and mutual Concord each with

other ; as *Firmilian* writes, that ^c in most Provinces many Rites were varied according to the Diversities of Names and Places ; but yet, saith he, never any one for this broke the Peace and Unity of the Church. One

^c Plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum & nominum diversitate variantur, nec tamen propter hoc ab Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pace atque unitate aliquando discessum est. *Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. § 5. p. 237.*

Church or Bishop did not in those Days anathematize another for a Disagreement in Rites and Customs ; except when *Victor* Bishop of Rome, through his Pride and Turbulency, excommunicated the Asiatick Bishops for their different Observation of *Easter* from the Church

of

of Rome; which Action of his was very ill resented by the other Bishops of the Christian Churches, and condemned by them as alien from Peace and Unity, and contrary to that Love and Charity, which is the very Soul and Spirit of the Gospel; even the Bishops of his own Party, that celebrated Easter on the same Day that he did, censured his Rashness and Violence, as unchristian and uncharitable, and writ several Letters, wherein

^a they severely checkt him, as Eusebius reports, in whose Time they were extant, all which are now lost, except the Fragments of an Epistle, written by Irenæus, and other Bishops of France, wherein ^b they affirm, that Victor was in the right with respect to the Time of Easter, that it ought to be celebrated, as he said, on the Lord's Day, but that yet he had done very ill to cut off from the Unity of the Church those that observed it otherwise; that it had never been known, that any Churches were excommunicated for a Disagreement in Rites, an Instance of which there was not only in the Time of Easter its self, but in

^a Πληκτικώτερον καὶ ἀπομύμνων. Lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 192.

Fragments of an Epistle, written by Irenæus, and other Bishops of France, wherein

^b Παιείσεται μὲν τὸ δεῖν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ἡμερᾷ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ ἴσον τῆς κυριακῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον, τῷ γε μὴν Βικητοῦ περισηκόντως ὡς καὶ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἀρχαίαι ἔδου παρὰ τὸν ἐπιτηρέουσι — ἔδὲ γὰρ μόνον πρὸς τὴν ἡμέραν ὅτι ἢ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἶδου αὐτῆς τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἰοῦνται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν ἀσβεῖν νηστεῖν, οἱ δὲ δύο· οἱ δὲ καὶ πλεονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥσπερ ἡμεῖνας τε καὶ νηκτερινὰς συμμετρεῖσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοιαῦτη μὲν πικρία τῶν ἐπιτηρέωντων ἔγωγε ἔφ' ἡμῶν γρά-

νῆα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρὸς
 πρὸν ὅτι τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν
 — καὶ ἔδεν ἔλαπρον παν-
 τες ἐπι εἰρήνιδαν τε καὶ
 εἰρωδομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
 καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστίας
 τῶν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως
 σωίσησι — καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σω-
 τῆς ὁ πρεσβύτεροι οἱ πρὸς
 ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢς
 νῦν ἀφῆρη, Ἀνικητον λέ-
 γομεν καὶ Πίον, Ὑγνόν τε
 καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Εὐσυν,
 ἕτε αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν, ἕτε
 τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεπον,
 καὶ ἔδεν ἔλαπρον αὐτοὶ μὴ
 τηρεῖν εἰρήνιδον τοῖς ἀπὸ
 τοῦ περιουσιῶν ὧν αἱς ἐπι-
 ρεῖτο ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐ-
 τῶν — καὶ ἔδέπετε διὰ τὸ
 εἶδ' ὅτι τὸ ἀπεβλήθησαν
 πνευ, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηρεῖν
 οἱ πρὸ σὺ πρεσβύτεροι,
 τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ περιουσιῶν
 τηρεῖν ἐπιμπον εὐχαισι-
 αν. καὶ τὰ μακροὶ Πολυ-
 κάρπῳ ὁπιδημήσαντ' ἐν
 ῥώμῃ ὅτι Ἀνικητῆ, καὶ πρὸς
 ἄλλων πνῶν μικρὰ ὄντες
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐνδὺς εἰρή-
 νιδαν, πρὸς τέτυτ' ἑ κα-
 φαλαῖς μὴ φιλεεισήσαντες
 πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς. ἕτε γὰρ Ἀνι-
 κητ' ὁ Πολύκαρτον πεί-
 σαι ἐδωάτο μὴ τηρεῖν —
 ἕτε μὲν ὁ Πολύκαρτ' ὁ
 Ἀνικητ' ἔπεισε τηρεῖν — καὶ
 τέτων ἕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοι-
 νῶνησαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησία παρεχάρισεν ὁ
 Ἀνικητ' εὐχαισιαν τῶν
 Πολυκάρπῳ καὶ ὠλεσπῶν

*the Fast that preceeded
 it : Some fasted one Day,
 others more ; some forty
 Hours ; which Variety of
 Observations began not
 first in our Age, but long
 before us in the Times of
 our Ancestors, who yet
 preserved Peace and Unity
 among themselves, as we
 now do ; for the Diversity
 of Fasts commended the
 Unity of Faith : And as
 for this Controversie con-
 cerning the Time of Ea-
 ster, the Bishops which
 governed the Church of
 Rome, before Soter, viz.
 Anicetus, Pius, Higy-
 nus, Telesphorus, and
 Xystus, they never cele-
 brated it the same Time
 with the Asiaticks, nei-
 ther would they permit
 any of their People so to
 do : but yet they were
 kind and peaceable to
 those who came to them
 from those Parishes, where
 they did otherwise observe
 it, and never any for this
 Cause were thrown out of
 the Church ; even your
 Predecessors ; though they
 did*

did not keep it, yet they sent the Eucharist to those that did keep it; and when in the Times of Anicetus, blessed Polycarp came to Rome, and there were some Controversies

διλογόπι, καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπιδλάγησαν πόσις τ' ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνῳ ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ τῶν μὴ παρόντων, Apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24. P. 192, 193.

between them, they did not separate from one another, but still maintained Peace and Love: And though Anicetus could never perswade Polycarp, nor Polycarp Anicetus to be of each other's Mind, yet they communicated one with another; and Anicetus in Honour to Polycarpus, permitted him to consecrate the Sacrament in his Church, and so they departed in mutual Love and Kindness; and all the Churches, whether observing, or not observing the same Day, retained Peace and Unity amongst themselves.

§ 4. But though one Church could not oblige another to a Conformity in Rites and Customs, yet a particular Church or Parish could enforce its own Members to such a Conformity, an Instance whereof we meet with in that famous Controversie about the Time of *Easter*. It was the Custom of the *Asiatics* to celebrate that Feast at the Full Moon, or at the same Time with the Jewish Passover, on whatsoever Day of the Week it happen'd. It was the Manner at *Rome* to observe it the Lord's Day after, and both these Churches quietly followed their several Usages, without imposing them on each other. But yet the Churches of *Asia* permitted none of their

Members to solemnize it after the Roman manner; neither did the Churches of *Rome* or of the West, license any of their Inhabitants to celebrate it after the Asiatick Manner; for if either of them had granted any such Thing, there must have ensued Confusion and Disorder, to have seen *Easter* differently observed in one and the same Church; whilst some Members of a Parish were Fasting, to behold others Feasting, would have been a perfect Ataxy and Irregularity: Therefore though *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome* retained Peace and Unity with Foreign Churches, that differed from him as to the Time of *Easter*, without obliging them to a Compliance with the Roman Custom; yet he peremptorily required it of the Members of his own Church, and

^a οὐτε τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸς ἐπέτρεπον. *Iren.* apud *Euseb.* lib. 5. cap. 24. p. 193.

^a would never permit them to solemnize that Feast on the same Time with the Asiaticks.

So that though every Church had the Liberty to use what Rites she pleased, yet every particular Member had not, but was obliged to observe the Manners and Customs of that Church where he lived, or where he occasionally communicated. A Church collective, or the Majority of a Church with their Bishop could change their old Customs, and introduce new ones, as was done in the Affair of *Easter*, the Asiaticks at length submitting to the Roman Usage; but till that was done, every particular Member was required to follow

low the old Customs of that Church, to which he belonged, and not to bring in any Innovations or new Rites, because, as was said before, that would beget Tumults and Disorders, and the Persons so acting would be guilty of that Strife and Contention, which is condemned by those Words of the Holy Apostle 1 Cor. II.16. *But if any Man seem to be contentious, we have no such Custom, neither the Churches of God.* Which is, as if the Apostle had said, If any Men, either to shew their Wit, or to head and strengthen a Party, will contradict what we have said, and affirm it to be decent and comely, either for Men to pray covered, or Women uncovered, This should silence such contentious Opposers, that there is no such Rite or Custom in any of the Churches of God, but their Practice is the very same with what we have directed unto, and therefore to that they ought peaceably and quietly to submit and yield.

Thus now I have finished this Enquiry, and have, as far as I could, search'd into what was first propos'd. If I have not illustrated any Point, as clearly as might be expected, the Reason is, because I found nothing farther pertinent thereunto in those Writings to which I am confin'd; if I had, I should freely have mentioned it. Whether I have been mistaken in the Sense and Meaning of any Passage, I must leave unto my Readers to judge; all that I can say is, that I am not conscious to my self of any wilful and designed Mistakes, having throughout this whole Discourse en-

deavoured to find out the plain and naked Truth, without being byass'd to any Party or Faction whatsoever; and that if any one shall be so kind and favourable as to convince me of any Slips or Errors, which I may have committed through Inconsideration, or Want of a due Understanding, I shall thankfully acknowledge them, and willingly renounce and leave them.

§. 5. What hath been related concerning the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church shall suffice: I have nothing more to add, but mine earnest Intreaty and Perswasion unto all those, into whose Hands this little Treatise shall fall, to imitate and follow the Primitive Christians in their Moderation and the Peaceableness of their Temper and Disposition. In those happy Days the Christians were so eminent above all other Sects for their mutual Love and Charity, that the Heathens observed it with A-

^a Vide, inquit, ut invicem se diligunt. *Tertul. Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.*

^b Pro alterutro mori sunt parati — Fratres nos vocamus — quia unum patrem Deum agnoverunt, qui unum Spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantie ejusdem ad unam lucem expiraverunt veritatis. *Ibidem, p. 709.*

stonishment, and cried out with Admiration, ^a Behold, how they love one another! ^b We are; saith Tertullian, ready to die for each other; and we call one another Brethren, because we acknowledge one and the same God the Father, and have been sanctified by the same Holy Spirit, and have been brought

brought from the same State of Ignorance, to the Light of the same marvellous Truth. But alas!

^a How is the Gold become dim! How is the ^a Lam. 4. v. 1.

most fine Gold changed!

How is that Love and Charity now turned into Malice and Cruelty! Pity, Compassion, and Tender-heartedness have left the World, and Envy, Hatred and Rancour are succeeded in their Places; Love is now exploded as ungentle and mean, Charity is condemned as abject and base, while Hatred, Revenge and Fury are esteemed as noble and generous.

But, O Lord, how long! Shall Malice and Envy, Wrath and Pride for ever ride triumphant and uncontrouled? When wilt thou, O Prince of Peace, and God of Love, heal our Breaches, and compose our Differences, and cause us ^b with all

Lowliness and Meekness, ^b Ephes. 4. 2, 3.

and Long-suffering to forbear one another in Love, endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace?

We have too too long unnaturally quarrelled already, and to the Dishonour of God, and the Scandal of Religion, have most unchristianly abused each other: I speak not this only of one Party, but of all; we have all been guilty as to this Matter, we have all erred and gone astray from the most Holy Commandment, and have been deficient every one of us in this great and necessary Duty of Love and Unity: We have loathed Concord, and loved Jarrs and Divisions, and have been always back-biting, persecuting and ma-

signing one another to this very Day, never at all remembring that we were Brethren, and Professors of the same blessed and glorious Religion.

But what shall I say? This Theme is too harsh and displeasing; if it is an unpleasant Work to rip up those uncharitable Actions, may they be buried in perpetual Silence and Oblivion, and never more be remembred, so as to stir up Anger and Revenge, but only so as they may produce, in us all, Humility, Repentance, and mutual Forgiveness; let us now with our Floods of penitential Tears at once quench God's Anger for our past Divisions, and the Flames of our present Fire and Heats, that so there may be no Fuel for future Contentions; and being grieved that we have played the Fool so long, we may now the more firmly resolve by the Grace of God to do so no more, that so, however infamous we have been heretofore for our blind Zeal and unaccountable Animosities, we may for the Time to come be highly renowned and conspicuous for our ardent Love and fervent Charity, ^a *Putting away all*

Bitterness, and Wrath, and ^a *Ephes. 4. 32, 33.*

Anger, and Clamour,

and evil Speaking, with all Malice, being kind to one another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us, ^b Putting on (as the

Elect of God, holy and ^b *Colos. 3. 12, 13.*

beloved) Bowels of Mer-

cy, kindness, Humbleness of mind, Meekness, Long-suffering, forbearing one another and forgiving one another.

Certain

Certain I am, we need no Arguments to induce us hereunto ; both the Necessity and Facility of Love and Unity require it at our Hands : Its Necessity is evident from hence, that whilst we spend our Zeal and Heat about these inconsiderable Matters, the very Foundations of Faith and Morals are attack'd and shaken ; Atheism increases, Immorality prevails, and those damnable Heresies, which for many Ages have been silenced and abandoned, are now revived by Men of a corrupt Faith, who take an occasion from the Lawlessness and Licentiousness of this present Age, to vent those cursed Tenents, which eradicate and destroy all Religion ; it is to be feared, that unless we hasten to compose our Differences about the Skirts and Fringes of Religion, the very Vitals and Essentials thereof will be corroded and devoured by Heresie and Profaneness.

And as for these and the like Reasons the Necessity of an Union or Comprehension is manifest on the one Hand, so the Facility of such an Union is as apparent on the other Hand ; for, Thanks be to God, our Differences are neither about Faith nor Manners ; we all believe in one and the same God, hope to be saved by one and the same Redeemer, desire to be sanctified by one and the same Sanctifier, receive one and the same Scriptures, assent to the same Doctrines, and acknowledge the Necessity of the same Duties : Our Disputes are only about lesser Matters, about Modes and Forms, about Gestures and Postures, and such like inferiour Matters, about which it
should

should grieve a wise Man to quarrel, and which with the greatest Ease in the World might be compos'd and settled, if managed by Men of Prudence and Moderation; and such Men, 'tis hop'd, are the Reverend Bishops advanced by their Majesties, whose Promotion to those Places of Dignity and Trust many honest and peaceable Men look upon as a good Omen and Prognostick of our Future Union and happy Establishment.

With these two Considerations let us remember those solemn Vows and Engagements which we made to Almighty God, and to one another in the Day of our late Distress; how we then vow'd and promised, that if God would be pleas'd to deliver and rescue us, we would forget our Differences, and mutually condescend and abate of our Rigour and Severity: Wherefore now since God hath so wonderfully saved us, let us not be so perfidious and faithless, as to neglect to perform what we then oblig'd our selves unto; but let us willingly and conscientiously discharge it, lest God bring severer Judgments on us than ever, and at once utterly destroy us both Root and Branch, for our Lying, Perjury and Hypocrisie.

Many other such cogent Arguments I might easily produce; but that I may avoid too great Prolixity and Tedioufness, I shall urge but one more, which is, that unless we have an uniting Spirit, and a peaceable Disposition, we are no true Christians, we unjustly arrogate that glorious Name; for the very Soul of Christianity is Love and Charity,

^a *The Kingdom of God, saith the Apostle, is not Meat and Drink, not zealous Disputes and Strifes about lesser Points, but Righteousness, and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost; for he that in these serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of Men.* It is an Absurdity and a meer Contradiction, for a Man to say that he is religious, and yet to be malicious and uncharitable. Our Saviour flatly tells us, that ^b *by this all Men shall know that we are his Disciples, if we have Love one to another.* We may talk what we please of Religion, and profess what we list; the Word of God is plain, that whosoever hath not Love and Charity, is no Christian; but to allude to that of Christ, *John 10. 1. He is a Thief and a Robber,* he hath not the Spirit of God abiding and dwelling in him; for ^c *The Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance.* And ^d *The Wisdom from above is peaceable, gentle, and easie to be entreated, full of Mercy and good Fruit.* So that the very Soul and Spirit of Christianity consists in Unity, Love and Amity.

^a Rom. 14. 17, 18.

^b John 13. 35.

^c Gal. 5. 22, 23.

^d James 3. 17.

Wherefore let my Intreaties be prevalent with you to endeavour for a mutual Compliance and Comprehension, as you have any Regard to the Honour of God, and the Credit of Religion; as you would hinder the Growth of damnable Errors, and abominable Debaucheries,

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cheries, and do what in you lies to prevent the Ruin and Damnation of Multitudes of poor Souls ; nay, as you would secure your own Salvation, and be able with Confidence to appear at the dreadful and impartial Day of Judgment, let me conjure you in the Name of

^a 1 Pet. 1. 22.

^b 1 Tim. 6. 11.

God ^a to love one another with a pure Heart fervently, ^b to follow after

Righteousness, Godliness, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness ; to forget and pardon all former

^c 1 Phil. 3. 14.

Injuries and Affronts, ^c doing nothing for the

Time to come, through Strife or Vain-glory, but in Lowliness of Mind, each esteeming others better than themselves, doing all Things without Murmurings

^d 2 Tim. 2. 23, 24.

or Disputings, ^d avoiding all foolish and unlearned

Questions, knowing that they do but gender Strifes, behaving your selves like the Servants of the Lord, who must not strive, but be gentle unto all Men, apt to teach, patient, mutually complying with each other, doing all Things unto Edification, labouring after Peace and Unity,

^e Rom. 15. 5.

that so we may at length ^e with one Mind and one

Mouth glorifie God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And for the Accomplishment of this blessed and glorious Design, let us above all things avoid Pride and Vain-glory, which, as it is to be feared, hath had no small Share both in the causing and increasing of our Divisions : We have been so stiff and self-conceited, and stood so much upon the pitiful Punçilio's of Honour,

hour, that we have refused to condescend to one another, or to join in a Way of Comprehension, or mutual Relaxation, which seems to be the only Way left for Union and Agreement, if ever we hope, or intend to have it. Wherefore let me address my self unto you in the Words of the Reverend and Moderate Bishop Hall, ^a Men,

Brethren and Fathers help, ^a Passion Sermon.

for God's Sake put to your Hands to the Quenching of this common Flame, the one Side by Humility and Obedience, the other by Compassion, both by Prayers and Tears. And as he, so let me

^b *beg for Peace as for* ^b *Ibid.*
Life, by your filial Piety

to the Church of God, whose Ruins follow upon our Divisions, by your Love of God's Truth, by the Graces of that one blessed Spirit, whereby we are all informed and quickened, by the precious Blood of that Son of God, which was shed for our Redemption, be inclined to Peace and Love, and though our Brains be different, yet let our Hearts be one.

Let us all endeavour by a Compliance and a Comprehension to promote Love and Charity, Peace and Unity, that so being Children of Peace, and obedient Subjects of the Prince of Peace, the God of Peace may bless us with Peace, Quiet, and Serenity here, and at the End of our Days receive us into his eternal Peace, and everlasting Rest; which God of his infinite Mercy grant may be the Portion of us all, through the Merits of his only Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen, and*

Amen.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BECAUSE some Practices and Customs, mentioned in the precedent Treatise, were not from the first Plantation of Christianity, but were afterwards introduced; and others might not be universal, but only followed in some particular Churches, it will not be unnecessary to add a Table of the Names, Age, and Country of those Fathers, and of their Contemporaries, who have been cited by us; that so we may guess at the Time when such Customs were brought in, and know the Places where they were chiefly practised.

Names

Names.	Countries.	Age.
Several Synods held in	Africa between	Anno Christi 250 & 260,
Alexander Bishop of	Jerusalem,	Anno 228
Anonymus apud Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 182.	Lesser Asia,	170
Anicetus Bishop of	Rome,	154
The Synodical Letter of _____	the Council of Antioch, held	Anno 265
Apollinaris Bishop of	Hierapolis in Lesser Asia,	170
Apollonius _____		200
Asturius _____	Palastina,	260
Aurelius _____	Carthage,	253
Artemon _____		196
Babylas Bishop of	Antioch,	246
Saint Barnabas		50
Baslides the Heretick	Alexandria,	134
Baslides a Bishop in	Spain,	258
Celerinus _____	Carthage,	253
Letters of the Clergy of Rome, to the Clergy	of Carthage, writ between.	Anno 250, & 258
Clemens Bishop of	Rome,	70
Clemens of	Alexandria,	204
Cornelius Bishop of	Rome,	252
Crescens Bishop of	Certa in Africa,	258
Cyprian Bishop of	Carthage,	250
Dionysius Bishop of	Corinth,	172
Dionysius Bishop of	Alexandria,	260
Eusebius a Deacon of	Alexandria,	259
Fabianus Bishop of	Rome,	Anno 236
Firmilian Bishop of	Cesarea in Cap- padocia,	250
Fortunatus a Schismatic	in Africa,	255
Fortunatus Bishop of	Thucabori in A- frica,	258
Gregory Bishop of	Neocasarea,	250
Ignatius Bishop of	Antioch,	105
Irenæus Bishop of	Lyons,	184
Justin Martyr	Samaria,	155
Lucius Bishop of	Thebeste in Afri- ca,	258

Names

Names.	Countries.	Age.
A Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne	to the Churches of Asia,	Anno 177
Minucius Felix	Rome,	230
Martialis a Bishop in	Spain,	258
Natalis	Rome,	210
Nemesianus Bishop of	Thubunis in Africa,	258
Novatian	Rome,	252
Origen a Presbyter of	Alexandria,	230
Palmas Bishop of	Amastris in Pontus,	196
Paulus Samosatenus Bp. of	Antioch,	295
Plinius an Heathen		110
Polycarpus Bishop of	Smyrna,	140
Polycrates Bishop of	Ephesus,	196
Pontius a Deacon of	Carthage,	260
Privatus Bishop of	Lambese in Africa,	254
Sabinus Bishop of	Emerita in Spain,	258
Sedatus Bishop of	Turbo in Africa,	258
Secundinus Bishop of	Carpis in Africa,	258
An Epistle of the Church of Smyrna to the Church of		
Stephen Bishop of	Phiolmelium,	168
Tatianus	Rome,	258
Tertullian a Presbyter	Syria,	180
Theoctistus Bishop of	of Carthage,	200
Theophilus Bishop of	Cesarea in Palestina,	228
	Cesarea in Palestina,	196
Victor Bishop of	Rome,	196
Victorinus Petavionensis	Hungary,	290
Vincentius Bishop of	Thibaris in Africa,	258
Zoticus Bishop of	Comane in Lesser Asia,	168







